

Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical
Universidade Nova de Lisboa

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*Medieval Sacred Chant:
from Japan to Portugal*

Canto sacro medieval:
do Japão a Portugal

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Manuel Pedro Ferreira
(Coordenação)

Medieval Sacred Chant: from Japan to Portugal

Canto sacro medieval: do Japão a Portugal

Edições Colibri

Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical

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Nota prévia

Os textos incluídos neste volume derivam de comunicações apresentadas em Lisboa e Évora, entre 2 e 5 de Junho de 2005, no âmbito do colóquio internacional «Monodia sacra medieval / Medieval Sacred Monody», cujo programa completo se reproduz no final do livro. Eles dão testemunho da vitalidade que actualmente caracteriza a investigação sobre o canto monódico cristão que, desenvolvido nos alvares da Idade Média, dominou a paisagem sonora europeia até ao Renascimento, prolongando-se depois, em versões reformadas ou práticas mitigadas, até ao advento da sociedade industrial. Os artigos aqui reunidos dão-nos também conta do crescente diálogo entre os investigadores que se dedicam ao canto das igrejas latinas e aqueles que se devotaram às liturgias em língua grega ou eslava. Finalmente, a inclusão de dois fascinantes textos sobre música budista medieval — um campo que só recentemente começou a atrair a atenção dos estudiosos — reflecte a abertura ao Extremo-Oriente do *Cantus planus*, grupo de estudos da Sociedade Internacional de Musicologia cujas reuniões periódicas têm contribuído decisivamente para o alargamento do horizonte científico dos seus membros. Se a realização do colóquio, organizado com a inestimável colaboração de João Pedro d'Alvarenga, foi sentida como um tributo ao pioneirismo científico de Solange Corbin, a publicação deste livro é, de alguma forma, um tributo a quinze anos de aprendizagem no seio do grupo *Cantus planus*.

Manuel Pedro Ferreira

Editor's Note

The texts included in this volume are derived from papers presented in Lisbon and Évora between 2 and 5 June 2005, in the context of the international colloquium “Monodia sacra medieval / Medieval Sacred Monody”, the programme of which is reproduced complete at the end of this book. They bear witness to the vitality currently characteristic of research into Christian monodic chant, which, having developed at the dawn of the Middle Ages, dominated the European soundscape up to the Renaissance, continuing subsequently, in reformed versions and modified practices up to the advent of industrial society. The articles collected here also take into account the increased dialogue among researchers who dedicate themselves to the chant of the Latin churches and those concerned with liturgies in Greek or Slavonic languages. Finally, the inclusion of two fascinating texts on Medieval Buddhist music — a field that has only recently begun to attract the attention of scholars — reflects the interest on the Far East at *Cantus planus*, a study group of the International Musicological Society, whose periodic meetings have contributed decisively to the broadening of the scientific horizons of its members. If this colloquium, organized with the inestimable support of João Pedro d’Alvarenga, was felt as being a tribute to the pioneer research work of Solange Corbin, the publication of this book is, in a sense, a tribute to fifteen years of growing in knowledge within the group *Cantus planus*.

Manuel Pedro Ferreira

Buddhist Music

Chinese Hymns in Japanese Buddhist Liturgy: Structure and Ornament

Elizabeth J. Markham

1 Evidence

Liturgical chant for Buddhist ritual in Japan, *shoomyoo* as it came to be called,¹ is documented since at least the first half of the 8th century: specific references to chant terminology or to named *shoomyoo* items are known for this time, including references to some of the most important chants sung today, carried down over the centuries in a seemingly continuous performance tradition.²

¹ The term *shoomyoo* (from Sanskrit *śabda-vidyā*) as first used in Japan was associated with the scholarly disciplines required of the Brahmins of India. It referred specifically to the Sanskrit science of sound, to Sanskrit phonetics. Following Chinese terminology, Buddhist ritual chant itself was called at first “Sanskrit cantillation” (jap. *bombai*, chin. *fanbai*). However, near the end of the Heian Period (794-1185), the term *shoomyoo* had widened its specific reference to include chant, eventually coming to replace the term *bombai* (DEMIÉVILLE, 1929). Nowadays, *shoomyoo* is the general term for the ritual vocal music of Japanese Buddhism, and it covers texts written in Sanskrit and Chinese, as well as in Japanese. These three broad categories are called *bonsan* in which Chinese characters transliterate Sanskrit sounds, *kansan* which are Chinese texts, either translations of Sanskrit or original, and *wasan* with texts written in Japanese. Spells and *mantras* (incantations) stand alongside prose and verse. A variety of chant types carry these diverse texts (SAWADA, 2002, pp. 615-617). Different settings for standard verse-forms and even of the same text may exist, chosen for use according to the solemnity of the occasion (HILL, 1982). Most sects of Buddhism in Japan maintain a “musical” tradition of at least syllabic reciting of sacred texts on a declamatory axis with cadential notes, and of singing hymns and religious songs, however straightforward. Although these are all included under the rubric *shoomyoo*, the ornate melismatic chant perhaps most familiar from commercial recordings of *shoomyoo* is maintained by monastery-temples that derive their authority from long traditions of chant cultivation, the most elaborate chants reserved for specific ceremonial occasions (HILL, 1982). For a general account of *shoomyoo*, see SAWADA (2002). A large-scale collaborative study of a major performance tradition (conducted in two stages and in two volumes), including notations, transcriptions, and analyses, is KURIYAMA and KOIZUMI (1969); ARAI (1998); the English-language article by Steven NELSON (1998) may be particularly helpful. An excellent annotated discography of *shoomyoo* is now available, conveniently ordered according to sect (GREENE et al., 2004, pp. 137-146).

² An edict of 720, stipulating that monks model their chant on that of the Chinese émigré monk, Dao Rong, who had arrived in Japan in 719, is advanced as the first musical documentation of Buddhist chant (SAWADA, 2002, p. 611; DEMIÉVILLE, 1929, p. 98a). The first mention of liturgical items by name in Japan, however, is usually given as that of the performance in 752 of four chants, *bai*, *sange*, *bonnon*, and *shakujoo*, central to this day to ritual sections of a classic *hooe*, or Buddhist Mass. Their performance in 752 was associated with the *Daibutsu kaigen-e*, the “Eye-Opening Ceremony” of consecration of the great gilded Buddha in Toodaiji temple, in Nara. The temple records themselves, *Toodaiji yooroku*, and the official history of Japan for the years 697-791, *Shoku nihongi*, both list the four in their respective accounts for the 9th day of the fourth month (of the year 752). With regard to participants, these accounts are interpreted variously. More than 1,000 monks are often given as having performed the chants (although others put the count of monks who sang at the 10,000 they give as present at the ceremony). DEMIÉVILLE (1929, p. 98b),

Already from the first half of the 7th century,³ however, certain ceremonies are known to have involved “readings” of *sūtras*,⁴ the sacred scriptures of Buddhism transmitted as the discourses of the historical Buddha.⁵ A common characteristic of the *sūtras*, both in their original Sanskrit versions and in their imported Chinese translations, is their prosimetric form (MAIR, 1989, chapter 4, especially pp. 95-96): prose sections alternate with metered verse, most typically with the hymns of praise to which I shall turn later — the *gāthā*, to refer to them by their Sanskrit name for now. And so scholars propose that oral delivery of Buddhist scriptures in those days would have run the gamut from reciting sacred texts to singing metered hymns (SAWADA, 2002), as they propose it did also for Buddhist-influenced prosimetric narratives in Central Asia, and then in China (MAIR, 1989), before importation of the religion via Korea into Japan by the mid-6th century.⁶

Yet when it comes to evidence available now for the musical language used then for sacred Buddhist texts in Japan — for the early condition of musical structures that may have served to carry potent and venerated ritual texts over very long periods — we face a complex relationship between what Steven Nelson (2002, p. 585) has termed “tangible written (or documentary) source materials”, on the one hand, and “intangible source materials in the form of transmitted performance practice”, on the other. Elsewhere Nelson (1998, p. 461) articulates what is nevertheless generally assumed about such musical structures, namely, that, since in the earliest days Buddhist scriptures were used in their imported Chinese translations “as they stood”, Chinese models are also likely for most of the earliest Buddhist music in Japan.⁷ After all, repertoires of

however, drawing on the entry in the temple records, accepts a more conservative 200 each for *bonnon* and *shakujō*, 10 each for *bai* and *sange*. A concise English-language description of the 752 Eye-Opening and its associated “Asian Musics Festival” of continental and indigenous performing arts is included in Steven NELSON’s (1990) historical article on early Japanese court music, *gagaku*. More detailed coverage of parts of an hour-by-hour account from the temple records of a reconsecration ceremony in 861, including translations from this diary-account as well as from musical sources for some of the items performed, is included along with further bibliography in several places in the series *Music from the Tang Court* (1981a-2000), especially in PICKEN et al., 1985, pp. 30-45 and 1987, pp. 59-87. A handy tabular overview in English of the structure of a Japanese Buddhist Mass is appended to Jackson HILL’s (1982) article on one of the principal *shōmyō* traditions today. This may now be amplified by SAWADA (2002).

³ As will be clear, for instance, from a glance through the first volume of de Visser’s classic *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sūtras and Ceremonies in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. and their History in Later Times* (1928).

⁴ Indeed, along with the ritualized confession of sins in ceremonies of repentance, it appears that readings and lecture-ceremonies on specific *sūtras* (to bring rain, stop pestilence, avert evil omens, and, in general, to give peace and prosperity to the nation) made up the bulk of early formalized Buddhist worship in Japan.

⁵ Siddhārtha Gautama (also known as Śākyamuni) who lived and taught in North India, and whose decease (*nirvāṇa*) is now put in a time-frame between 420 and 350 BCE (RUEGG, 1999).

⁶ The date 552 has long been given for the introduction of Buddhism to Japan. This follows an entry in the chronicle *Nihon shoki* (720) recording the dispatch of envoys from Paekchē (a Kingdom on the Korean peninsula) to Japan, having with them “... an offering of a gold and copper statue of Śākyamuni Buddha, together with several banners and canopies, and several volumes of *sūtras* and treatises” (translation, Richard BOWRING, 2005, p. 15). However, Bowring (2005, pp. 16-17) also sets out the argument made now for an earlier date of 538 for the importation of the religion. (See also Wang Zhenping’s note on the two dates (WANG 2005, pp. 310-11, note 80).)

⁷ “Little is known about the earliest Buddhist music in Japan, but since Chinese translations of the Buddhist scriptures

instrumental music-with-dance also imported from the mainland (beginning in the 5th and 6th centuries) and embraced right up until today as repertoires of Japanese court music, *gagaku*, were associated both with the court and as well with temple and shrine: many items are known to have been texted. Certainly, the present-day versions of these imported repertoires are vastly modified. But musical sources in instrumental tablatures dating right back to the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries for some items have long been argued as “tangible” witnesses to Tang Chinese musical models in early Japan.⁸ At present, however, the earliest neumatic notations for complete Buddhist chants in Japan are extant, to my knowledge, only from several hundred years later than these instrumental notations — from the early 12th century;⁹ partial neumations that have come to light so far apparently reach no further back than the early eleventh century.¹⁰

Nowadays, neumatic notations for *shoomyoo* are taken as skeletal visual supports for what is transmitted orally, a practice¹¹ that has cast its shadow back through chant scholarship, rendering approaches to clearly ancestral, and perhaps relatively refined, earlier neumations slippery and often contentious. Whether new or old, and regardless of their relationship to performance practice at their time, however, the neumes themselves, supplied to guide how a text is to be “read” in melody, address individual text-characters as a sort of graphic sol-fa. Mental “neume maps” of the basic graphic elements that relate to sol-fa (namely, single directional strokes — of the brush, in hand-written sources) are carried in the singer’s head; many exist in written-down form, often included as prefaces to actual neumations (MARKHAM, 1985, 2004b; SAWADA, 2002). Looked at over the centuries, then, even cursorily as I propose to do here, graphic sol-fa for the various neumatic systems in the different sects of Japanese Buddhism operates with melodic information on a continuum, stretching backwards from representing the bare bones of a skeleton-frame nowadays to constituting seemingly quite exact melodic and ornamental notation in the earliest sources. Confining ourselves for the moment to graphic appearance only, we see that all along this

were used as they stood, it may be imagined that the music itself was also largely based on Chinese models. Two types would have been dominant: a small number of texts sung in Chinese realizations of Sanskrit, and a majority of texts sung in Chinese.” (NELSON, 1998, p. 461).

⁸ An early, seminal statement of the basic premises for this claim, laid out in 1972 although not published until almost a decade later, is PICKEN & WOLPERT (1981). Allan MARETT’s (2004b) reiteration of the argument is probably the most up to date published account. In two recent, semi-autobiographical documentary films (KNOTT et al., 2003, 2004), however, Laurence Picken personally relates once more the keystone stages in the relevant musicological research on the earliest sources for these imported instrumental repertoires, and on their relation to present day performance practice.

⁹ An 1110 neumatation of the hymn *shichi san* is apparently still the earliest known. A facsimile of the 19th-century lithograph via which this neumatation is preserved is easily accessible (HARICH-SCHNEIDER, 1973, opposite p. 105). A reputedly earlier manuscript (a fragment of a text, *hokke semboo*), mentioned by DEMIÉVILLE (1929) as of the Nara Period (645-781) and as being supplied with some sort of musical notation, has not been located, as far as I know (PICKEN and MITANI, 1979, p. 100).

¹⁰ The earliest given in a chronologically organized survey (NUMOTO, 1991) is from 1034. Many of these pre-12th-century, partially neumatated samples are *mantras* or other texts in Sanskrit (or Sanskrit-transliteration).

¹¹ The present-day functioning of neumatic notation for *shoomyoo* is well described in SAWADA (2002).

continuum neumes comprise single directional strokes and curves (eventually looped in “cursive hand”) — or compounds of several such — and are aligned to radiate out on one side, or on either side, of the imaginary square occupied by the text-character in question (Fig. 1, Fig. 2); certain systems write neumes also above and below the individual text-character.¹²

From the import of Buddhism itself by the mid-6th century, or at least from shortly afterwards, to a seemingly much later appearance of neumatic notations in the 11th and 12th centuries, then, chant in Japan might appear to have been carried without the visual support available in those later neumations: the art and conventions of reading, reciting, and singing the sacred texts seem assigned to the care of the singer. But has modern scholarship been, perhaps, overly concerned that the essentials of an early chant idiom are only “captured” on paper when that idiom evidently needed, and exhibits, neumations? In fact, systems of small circles or dotting



Figure 1: *Shichi kango-san* from *Shoomyoo shuu: sho-san*: (undated, but neumatic system probably c. 1300). The Property of the Tenri Central Library.

¹² Facsimiles of notated chants in various neumatic systems are available in accessible publications, including: ARAI (1986); KURIYAMA & KOIZUMI (1969); ARAI (1998); KOMODA & NOGAWA (2002, p. 582, Fig. 23).



Figure 2: *Hokke sembool Reiji sahoo* (Muromachi Period 1392-1573).

(or even indenting) applied in early sources to points around the single Chinese text-character, to its four “corners” or to its sides as well, include methods — derived from an originally Chinese model — of indicating the speech-tones of the individual syllables of the monosyllabic, tonal language Chinese. The principle behind this dotting has long been held to sit underneath, or at least to have cooperated in, the eventual development of neumes in Japan. Indeed, “pointing” (or positioning of small circles) is often retained in a modern neumatization of a Buddhist text written in Chinese (SAWADA, 2002, pp. 613-614). And significantly for arguing melodic import, it is used too in early sources for court song in Japanese, a non-tonal language, both in singers memory-aids that otherwise set out song-text only, grid-style against a percussion ostinato (Fig. 3), as well as in full melodic neumatizations (Fig. 4).

Nevertheless, extrapolating what musical information these circles and dots may be carrying for the initiate, whether in temple, shrine, or at court, and the working out of possible paths taken between pointing of texts and their early neumatizations have only become realistically approachable in recent times, with the first confident readings (MARKHAM, 1983b, 1985, 2004a)

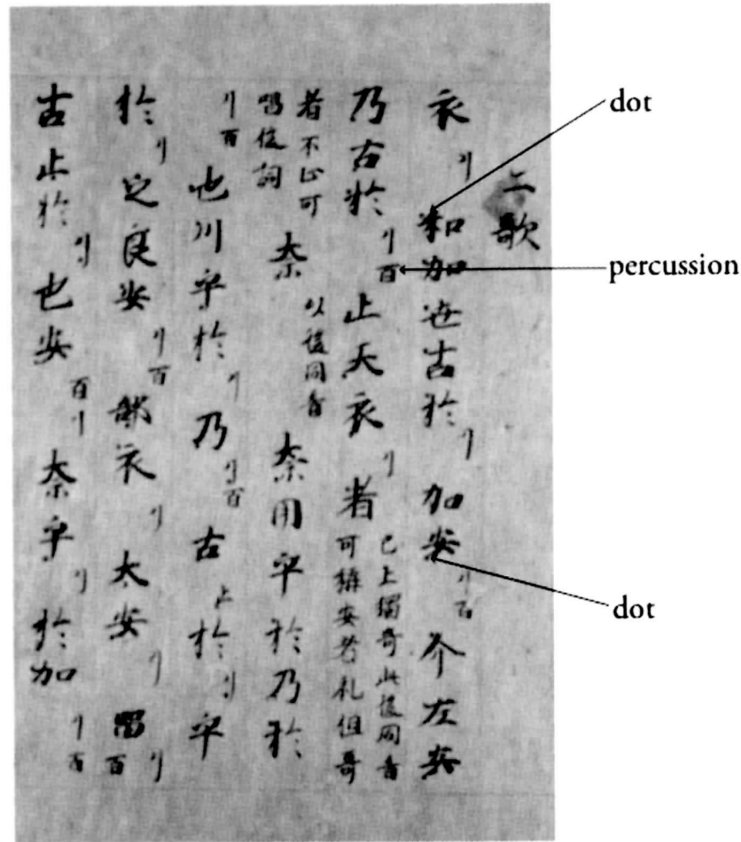


Figure 3: *Azuma asobi* “Eastern Songs” from *Jootoku-bon koyoo shuu* (1099).

of those early neumatic systems themselves.¹³ Many scholars would still be cautious about backwards projection from these new readings, not only because the sample is still very small, but also because of concerns about the status of notation in a heavily orally-based performance tradition, and about the as yet uncharted role of the written/notated in chant transmission over the centuries, alone since the time of the earliest neumations.

¹³ While the melodic readings in my first deciphering-attempt in 1983 (published in 1985) seem secure, bar for one or two places requiring minor emendation, I have rethought some of my premature assumptions, particularly about modal conceptualization. I hope to publish rectifications and a new transnotation in the near future.

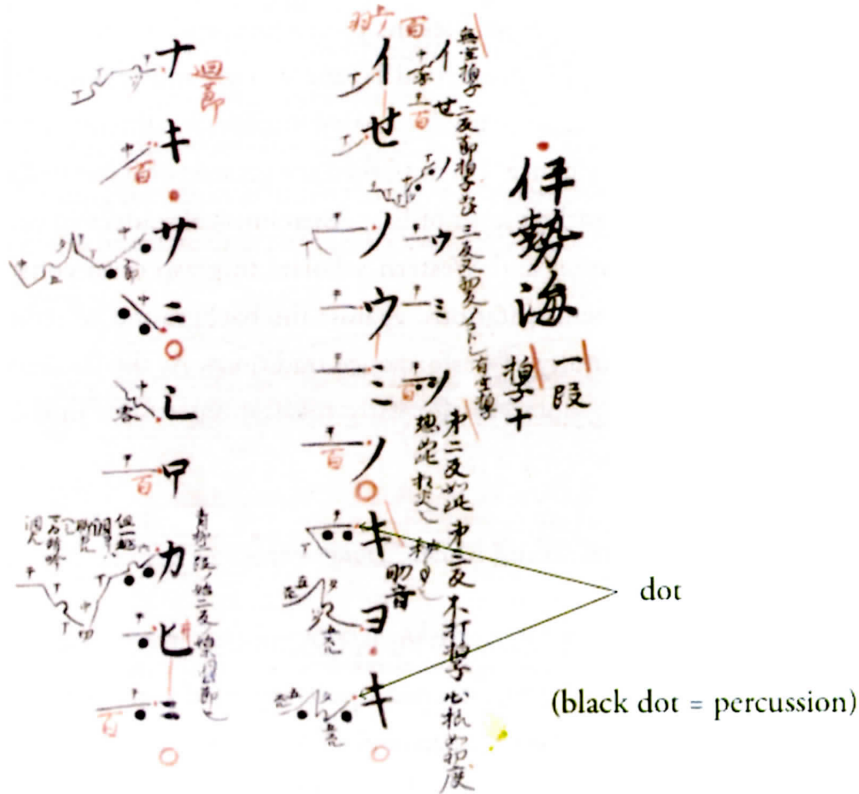


Figure 4: *Ise no umi* “By the sea at Ise” from *Saibara ryakufu* (?1197-?1449).

2 Scholars

Generations of scholar-monks in Japan, working within their own sects, have copied,¹⁴ recopied, and conceivably reinterpreted earlier documents for musical traditions that have been carried on as living traditions right up until today, coexisting and interacting on the way with the new musical genres of each new “musical period” (FUKUSHIMA and NELSON 1983, p. ii). And so they have accumulated a corpus of notations that may retain early text-pointing and the essential shape of the original neumes — but significantly, perhaps, not always their ductus — throughout their whole history, regardless of changes in the performance practice they may support. Written-down testimony to the multi-layered nature of the present performance traditions may be traceable in retained pointing or in accumulated glossing to neumes, for instance, but only by those prepared to accept the notion that what may have been reinterpreted in an old notation or absorbed otherwise along the way and transmitted further in the performance tradition may be

¹⁴ FUKUSHIMA (2004) is an overview of early musical sources in Japan that also describes the earliest large scale organization of scripture and document copying and their archiving.

a catalyst for change and be susceptible to further change itself (MARKHAM, 1990).¹⁵ In the mid-70s, however, research inspired by Laurence Picken's pioneering work on the borrowed Chinese "Tang Music" (*toogaku*) repertory of instrumental Japanese court-music-with-dance¹⁶ began to follow his insistence on trying to interpret early East Asian musical documents strictly in the light of internal and contemporaneous evidence. Up until then the greatest obstacle to approaching the melodic condition of items in the earliest layer of East Asian musical sources in general had been the tendency among both East Asian and Western scholars to grasp onto conspicuous visual similarities in old and the new documentations, against the background of strong indigenous tendencies to emphasize the continuity of performance traditions. At the final count, they had unwittingly ended up interpreting notations for early musical repertories in the light of their present-day performance practices.

2.1 Changing view of instrumental "Tang Music" (*toogaku*)

This view has changed dramatically. In the 1950s and 60s, Picken (1957; 1967) had shown that, if read literally, without accommodating non-notated aspects included in present-day performance, the modern Japanese *toogaku*, "Tang Music", partbooks for the fixed-pitch mouth-organ deliver simple tunes bearing a striking resemblance to the then known corpus of medieval Chinese music.¹⁷ Although moving exceedingly slowly in today's performance — too slowly to be heard as aggregate melodies — these tunes, buried at the base of non-notated mouth-organ cluster chords, function structurally for the complex polymodal texture of plucked-strings-winds-and-percussion in modern *toogaku* on what Picken decided (PICKEN, 1990, p. 112) to term a sort of *canto fermo/canto figurato* principle (see circled notes in upper system in Fig. 5).¹⁸ The first stages in the collaborative work on the earliest musical sources for Tang Music carried out from the early 1970s onwards by what became known as "The Cambridge Group"¹⁹ confirmed that in the modern texture of *toogaku* the bass-lute likewise bears the *canto fermo* as structure (PICKEN and WOLPERT, 1981), but that it also retains ancient notated ornamentation (WOLPERT, 1979) now fingered on the frets over chordal

¹⁵ For a discussion of transmission and the role of revival of repertory from earlier notations in the *gagaku* repertories of Japanese court music, see ENDOO (2004b).

¹⁶ As its name suggests, and as pointed out earlier (see p. 13), the repertory of Tang Music in Japan derives from music also originally imported from China, largely during the Tang Period (618-907).

¹⁷ PICKEN (1956, p. 147) noted the remarkably small volume of medieval music surviving in China, but has acknowledged (PICKEN et al., 1981a, p. 5) that his work on this corpus nevertheless conditioned his response to his first encounter with Japanese *toogaku*.

¹⁸ I adopt several figures from Allan MARETT's (1985) convenient laying out of the "Picken principle"; and I also closely follow his formulations in my overview here.

¹⁹ Doctoral students and scholars who from the early 1970s on gathered around Picken and the Cambridge-based *Tang Music Project*. An account of collaboration and project set-up is given in PICKEN et al. (1981a, pp. 5-14); some of the new technical directions for the project now are indicated in MARKHAM (2001) and WOLPERT (2001).

drones so slowly as to be kinasthetic rather than melodic (Fig. 6). More recently evolved formulaic melodies (MARETT, 1986), Picken's *canti figurati*, carried now in a Japanese mode by flute and reed-pipe above the *canti fermi*, dominate the modern ensemble and are regarded by performers and listeners as the primary melodies²⁰ (see upper stave in Fig. 7 on page 20). They are taught, recalled, and rehearsed via sung mnemonics known as *shooga*, "singing song", to which the structure-bearing instruments now also orientate their parts (SHOONO, 1987; HUGHES, 1989, 2000; MARKHAM, 2004a).

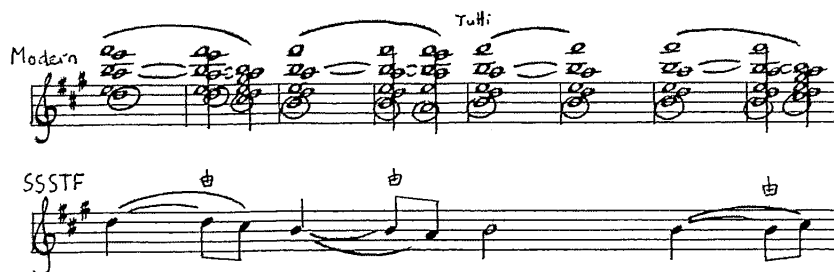


Figure 5: "Canto fermo": modern mouth-organ cluster chords above transnotation of mouth-organ tablature in *Shinsen shooteki-fu* (SSSTF) (1303) (reproduced from MARETT [1985]).



Figure 6: "Ornamented *canto fermo*": modern kinasthetic fingering of historical ornamentation over chordal drones for bass-lute beneath transnotation of lute tablature in *Sango-yooroku* (SGYR) (c.1180) (reproduced from MARETT [1985]).

The *canti fermi* in the modern idiom stepped forward from the Cambridge Tang Music research of the 70s as essentially the same melodies as tunes notated in instrumental tablatures for *toogaku* and extant from at least as early as the 10th century onwards (compare staves in Fig. 5 and Fig. 6). These early tunes were corroborated, in turn, via contrafacta in an early repertory of Japanese court song (MARKHAM, 1983a), not as skeletal structures akin to their *canti fermi* descendants in the modern *toogaku* texture, but as "real flesh and blood melodies" (MARETT, 1986). Much attention was also paid to the evidence provided by early notated sources for a mildly heterophonic

²⁰ Robert GARFIAS' (1975) study is an excellent and detailed introduction to the modern performance tradition.



Figure 7: “Formulaic *canti figurati*”: modern formulaic flute-melody above transnotation of flute-tablature in *Hakuga no fue-fu* (HFF) (966) (reproduced from MARETT [1985]).

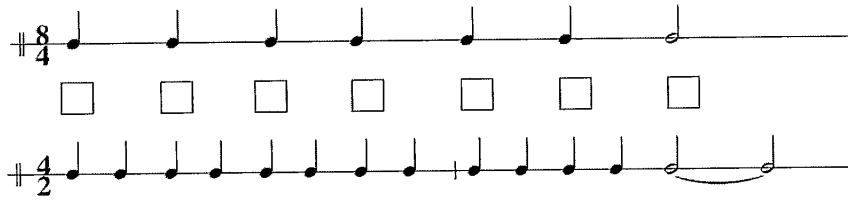
treatment of these melodies in ensemble performance: their systematic decoration — the application of a small repertory of ornaments, mainly mordents, appoggiaturas and short runs or glissandi, to specific notes in diatonic modal note-sets (MARETT, 1985; WOLPERT, 1992) — can be linked directly to the Tang Chinese system of mode and key (ENDOO, 2001, 2004a, 2005; MARKHAM, 2001, 2007; HAYASHI, 1969a; MARETT, 1976, 1977, 2001).

The early sources for *toogaku* also include notations for solo repertoires — of modal preludes, for instance — as well as notations for ensemble suites (from the large Tang Chinese suite-form [jap. *daikyoku*, chin. *daqu*]), which also include preludial and unmeasured movements. Preludes and suites have been discussed over the years (PICKEN et al., 1981b), some in considerable detail (WOLPERT, 1981; PICKEN, 1998; PICKEN and NICKSON, prep.; NELSON, 2005). However, the research from this time that has made its way out to the general scholarly world is concerned mainly with measured, often dance-type, tunes,²¹ many also originally part of such suites as movements once with lyrics.²² Although Tang Music items — whether single-movement items or movements from suites — appear not to have survived in notation with their associated lyrics underlaid, already early on in the research Picken (1966, 1969) had offered a model for matching Tang song-text to measured Tang-tune. Taking several *toogaku* items as samples, he suggested (see Fig. 8) that tunes in measures of 8-beats would be suitable for carrying Chinese lyrics in the standard Tang verse-form in lines of seven characters and (since Chinese is a monosyllabic language, with each character pronounced as a single syllable) in lines of seven syllables: for each

²¹ Of course, these tune-types make up the bulk of those which have made it through until today’s much shrunken *toogaku* repertory, and so, to come full circle, provided for the Picken theory in the first place.

²² In a late, collaborative paper (PICKEN and NICKSON, prep.) on the *daqu* suite-form, Picken suggests that many instances of the measured medial-movement structure covered by the seemingly general term *qu* (jap. *kyoku*) — which means simply “piece” — “will indeed have had song-texts”.

Picken 1966/1969



Wolpert n.d.

Markham 1983/1985

Figure 8: A model for setting Tang lyrics in lines of seven characters, syllabically to Tang Music tunes in measures of eight beats (above), neumatically in “doubled” melodic expansions (below). (Note: squares represent text-characters).

text-line one syllable would be set per beat on beats 1 to 6 in a measure, with the final syllable on beat 7 occupying two beats. Explicit, mensurally notated support for this suggestion was later found in a neumatation of a Buddhist eulogy set to a melody also contained in the early *toogaku* repertory (MARKHAM, 1983b, 1985). In this case (see Fig. 8 and later p. 26), and apparently reflecting standard two-fold melodic expansion,²³ lines of seven characters are set to 8 binary-units (of two beats each): in each line, characters 1 to 6 occupy one binary-unit (two beats) each, with the final character occupying two binary-units (four beats).

Joining-up the main dots in the Cambridge Tang Music research — between Tang Music then and now, so to speak — the basic “Picken proposition” is that two main developments carried in the performance tradition of Japanese *toogaku* led to metrical expansion and modal transformation of original melodies either imported from Tang China or based on original Tang importations: first, massive retardation in tempo over the centuries accompanied by accretion of non-notated compensatory features; and secondly, modal acculturation of foreign melody in the *canti figurati* of the flexible flute and reed-pipe parts (PICKEN et al., 1990, pp. 112-113).²⁴

²³ “... it has become evident that a large proportion of *Tōgaku*-items probably originally suited to carry Chinese song-texts in lines of seven characters, syllabically as suggested, have been melodically expanded, so that, by the twelfth century at the latest, single beats had been expanded to two beats: single measures had been expanded to two measures. Rembrandt Wolpert (WOLPERT, 1985b) has suggested that if Chinese texts in lines of seven characters were sung in Sino-Japanese to such expanded melodies in their simplest rhythmic versions (“basic melodies”), then for each text-line, characters 1 to 6 would probably have occupied two beats each, what he terms a ‘binary unit’, with the final character occupying four beats, a double binary-unit...” (MARKHAM, 1985, p. 124).

²⁴ More recent studies document revivals from old notations as crucial stages in these developments (ENDOO, 2004b); and in the face of the ornate chant and secular vocal repertoires beginning to emerge from earliest neumatic sources, and of early practices of applying proportional modal rhythm (including of conscious augmentation), there is also a developing reluctance to attribute melodic change so overwhelmingly to unconscious accretion of ornamentation, with its implication of a concomitant shifting from simple to complex.

3 Ramifications of Tang Music research for approaching Buddhist hymns in the *shoomyoo* tradition

There are potential ramifications of the research outlined above on the Tang Music repertory for early *shoomyoo* in “hymn-structure” suitable for carrying the metered verses of the praise-hymns, *gāthā*. Those aspects of particular relevance might be profitably given again (in summary), before turning to what they may have to say for a first attempt at a musical reading of an early, sample *gāthā*:²⁵

- The old Tang Music tunes lost their melodic function. For mouth-organ and lute, they now perform a structural role but can nevertheless be traced to notated 12th-and 13th-century tunes. These in themselves are versions of ancient Tang melody, apt for carrying a standard Tang lyric-form, and decorated according to circumscribed procedures directly related to the known Tang modal system. Tablatures for these instruments have barely changed. Both instruments now erect non-notated vertical chordal structures on the original melody-notes.
- The new formulaic melodies for flute and reed-pipe evolved differently from these same tunes. Loosening their melodic dependence on the ancient melodies by extending their ornamental practice — adding appoggiaturas to already prescribed and notated appoggiaturas, say — and by incorporating melodic formulae, they come to elaborate the *canto fermo* vertically rather than horizontally (MARETT, 1985; NG, 2005). Eventually they replaced Tang modal structure by Japanese modality. In the modern partbooks, tablatures for these instruments have been stripped of mensural notation and relegated to functioning as pitch glosses to *shooga*, the complex written-down oral mnemonics by which the melodies are learned and transmitted.

3.1 One hundred vocal formulae for *soorai kada*, an “introit” hymn

The large body of *gāthā*, Buddhist hymns of praise²⁶ known in Japanese as *kada* — a count of 700 known texts has been offered²⁷ — belongs to those *shoomyoo* repertories that are both very old and characterized, as set for instance in the esteemed Tendai chant tradition today, by formulaic construction and an elaborate, highly melismatic style. *Kada* is the Japanese reading of the two Chinese characters used to transliterate the Sanskrit term, *gāthā*, the verse sections of the *sūtras*

²⁵ As stated earlier, I stay close to Allan MARETT’s (1985) account of the Tang Music research.

²⁶ Niels GÜLBERG (1999, p. 29) prefers “praise songs” (Preislieder).

²⁷ On the *kada* section of Gülberg’s database <http://www.f.waseda.jp/guelberg/koshiki/datenbj.htm>.

translated into Chinese as hymns in stanzas of four lines of either seven or five characters. As test case here I have chosen the well-known “introit” *gāthā*, the *soorai kada*, of general homage to the three Buddhist treasures — the Buddha, his Teachings, and the Buddhist Order. It occurs as one stanza in four lines of seven characters. A study in 1934 (republished in 1972) by famed Tendai chant master Taki Doonin and musicologist Yoshida Tsunezoo (TAKI and YOSHIDA, 1972), from the insider’s viewpoint of a cantor’s realization of a neumatization of the *soorai kada*, and taking *B* as final, shows today’s *meyasu-hakase*, “neumes easy on the eye”,²⁸ as skeletal pitch-contour support for standardized vocal formulae sung to each text-character (Fig. 9).

Each of the seven characters in a column is supplied with a simple or compound neume. (Fig. 9 shows the opening two columns only; for completeness, Fig. 11 is another modern version of the complete *kada*.) Neumes are based on a set of directional strokes, with prescribed starting points and angles orientated to the vertical axis of the text-character. Under-propped by a mental construct carried in the head and actually called a “neume map” (*hakase-zu*), the strokes form a graphic sol-fa for the basic note-set used. Strokes are modifiable in compound neumes to include outlining and sketching of embellishment: that is to say, single strokes and initial strokes in compound neumes preserve angle; later strokes may defer to contour outlining. Graphic embellishment — dotted lines, and loops for instance — represent standardized vocal embellishments. Sol-fa symbols may gloss strokes for further relative-pitch security.

The four lines/columns of the complete hymn are sung to 100 vocal formulae, numbered one after the other on the neumatization (Fig. 9). These are matched up again by number in a transcription of Taki Doonin’s performance (Fig. 10 on page 24). (And he takes 5 minutes 54 seconds for the first line alone in the historic recording of the *soorai kada* published in Taki (1983).) Also included in the article is a supplementary chart that names and sorts all formulae sung. For our preliminary purposes, I would like to note especially (see Fig. 10) the extended shake on the fifth-degree of the mode, *F#*, named in that chart as *yuri*, “son tremblé” (DEMIÉVILLE, 1929). I wish to note also that extended *yuri*-shakes in chant idioms have been argued (PICKEN and MITANI, 1979, pp. 100-102) to be historically related to mordent-like ornaments notated in early instrumental tablatures and apparently also referred to as *yuri*. Finally, a version of an “easy on the eye” notation used nowadays for the *soorai kada* (Fig. 11)²⁹ glosses the neumes with these 100 names (in red), with sol-fa pitch-guides (in blue), and with guides (in black) for characters pronounced in Sino-Japanese as two or more syllables, showing where in the string of formulae and vowel reiterations these are to be articulated.

²⁸ A neumatic system held to be a more graphically descriptive overlay of an earlier contour system and to reach back to the 12th century; however, it found general use only from the beginning of the 15th century (ARAI, 1986, p. 17).

²⁹ Laurence Picken gave me the chant book containing this neumatization, a gift to him when he attended the *Go-semboo* ceremony in Oohara in 1980.

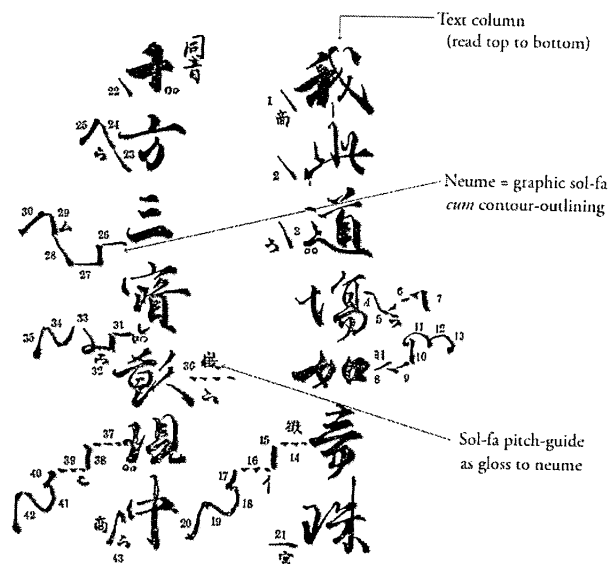


Figure 9: *Soorai kada* (extract): One hundred formulae sung to four neptasyllabic lines of Chinese verse (from TAKI and YOSHIDA [1972]).

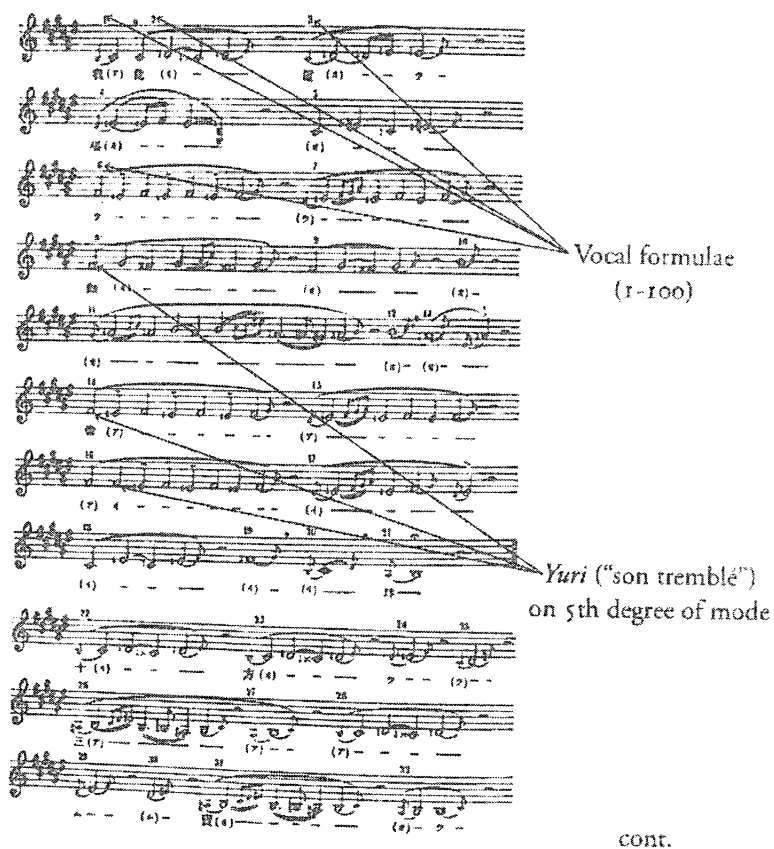


Figure 10: *Soorai kada* (extract): One hundred formulae sung by Taki Doonin to four heptasyllabic lines of Chinese verse (from TAKI and YOSHIDA [1972]).



Figure 11: *Soorai kada*: neumes “easy on the eye” from *Shoomyoo semboo ritsu-yoo* (GO-SEMBOO-KOO JIMUKYOKU, 1980).

3.2 “Tunes apt for Tang Lyrics” (Laurence Picken)

If moved back to the medieval world, the standard verse-form of the *soorai kada*, in four lines of 7 characters, would be a candidate either for a syllabic Picken-setting to an 8-beat melody (Fig. 8), or, inflated two-fold, for Wolpert’s neumatic-setting to a melody in lines of 8 binary-units/16 beats (Fig. 8).³⁰ Sources in mensural lute-tablature of 12th-and 13th-century date have confirmed (MARKHAM, 1983b, 1985) the latter, augmented version of this proposed text-setting template for a 13th-century Japanese neumatation (Fig. 12) of a contrafactum: the Buddhist eulogy



Figure 12: *Sanjuuni-soo*, “The Thirty-two Manifestations” (section 1): from *Shoomyoo-ruishuu* (1282).

³⁰ The application of proportional modal rhythm (involving ternary meter and augmentation) to such mensurally-notated fundamental versions of *toogaku* items must be kept in mind for early *shoomyoo* too. WOLPERT’s (1985a) seminal article on this practice may be augmented by his own ongoing studies (WOLPERT, 1992, 1995, 2000, 2004). Notational principles discerned in these studies have been recently further confirmed by NG (2005). Terauchi Naoko’s major study (TERAUCHI 1996) is also of direct relevance to the issue.

sanjuuni-soo, “The Thirty-two Manifestations”, the primary physical attributes of the Buddha, set to the melody of *sangin tagyuuraku*, a piece of instrumental “Polo Music”³¹ (with dance) borrowed from the Tang Music repertory. The complete text of the eulogy uses six repeats of the borrowed tune, the first statement of which is actually notated in flute-tablature to the right of the columns of Buddhist text-with-neumes (Fig. 12). Each of the six text-lines per tune-statement is allotted a time-span of 8 binary units/16 beats (as laid out above each stave 1 to 6 in Fig. 13): intra-columnary dots in the flute-tablature decisively segment the columns of notation into binary-units of 8 per line; extra-columnary dots to the right of the flute-tablature just as decisively mark

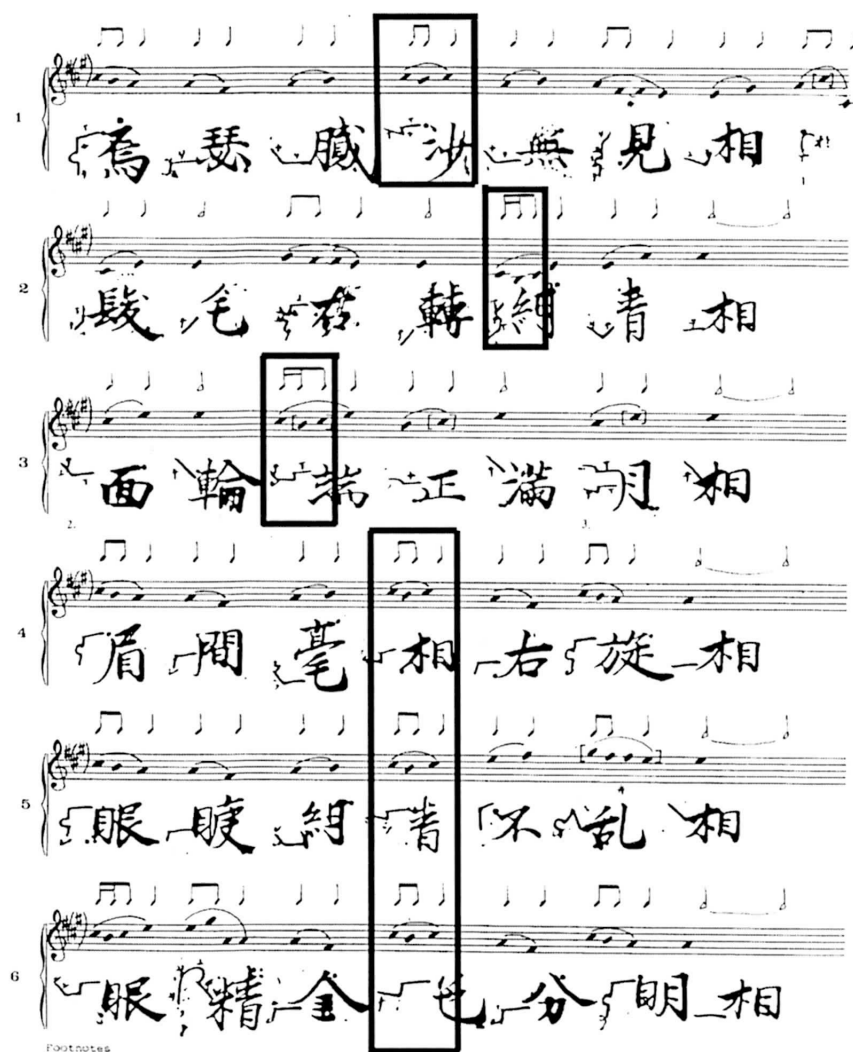


Figure 13: *Sanjuuni-soo*, “The Thirty-two Manifestations” (section 1): preliminary transnotation of 1983 from MARKHAM (1983b, 1985).

³¹ Regarding Polo, its introduction to Tang China via Serindia, and its transmission on to Japan and Korea, as well as for possible Buddhist overtones in the title *sangin tagyuuraku* see MARKHAM (1985, p. 137, footnote 13).

individual units (16 per line). The 7 text-characters per line (whether read as one, two, or even more syllables in their Sino-Japanese pronunciation) are thus unambiguously integrated into this metric grid exactly as Picken and Wolpert suggested, one character each per binary-unit, with the 7th and final character occupying “double space” in the grid, a double binary-unit. For individual neumes involving further splicing of the single unit — mainly for diminution in ornamentation — the finer details of rhythmization suggested above the staves (in Fig. 13) follow principles of notated mensuration in lute-tablatures extant for both contrafactum and borrowed melody;³² supportive of regarding a time-span (of 8 binary-units) as a phrase in the vocal neumatization is the provision in these same lute-tablatures of notated phrase markers — at each of the six line endings. A correction to the key-signature of the original transnotation (Fig. 13) is in order: two versions of the melody exist, one in a “Church Aeolian” mode on *A* (with one sharp), the other is “Mixolydian” on *A* (with only two, rather than three, sharps).

Restricting ourselves here to tracking our *yuri* embroidery-thread, though, we find (boxed in Fig. 13) that three-note, mordent-like gestures are notated as compound neumes of three discrete strokes, and that this tri-partite graph obtains, as to be expected, whether the ornament is “spread over” a complete binary unit, or whether it occupies only half that space. Significantly, other neumatizations for the “Manifestations” gloss certain of these three-stroke neumes (or neume constituents) with the technical name for the mordent-like ornament, *yuri*. The striking “neume-with-a-bulge”, such as that opening the neumatization, was also noted in the original transnotation as incorporating probable gracing of an appoggiatura or gracing of the second note in a short run, another standard ornament in the idiom. This ornament too will need to feature in our *yuri* story. From this world of cross-genre, court-temple borrowing, comes another contribution for how texts like the *soorai kada* might have been carried by embellished, measured melody: a set of Buddhist songs in the vernacular known as either *rakuhoo ka-ei*, “Songs in Praise of Paradise” or *gokuraku shooga* “Paradise *shooga*”. As the latter name might suggest, these Japanese songs are set as contrafacta to *shooga*-solmizations (that is, as contrafacta to the sung mnemonics) for instrumental Tang Music melodies (MARKHAM, 2004b) in mode-key *hyoojoo*, a diatonic “Church Dorian” note-set on *E*. While, with one or two exceptions, their Japanese verse-form may differ considerably from the *soorai-kada* verse-form in terms of syllables-per line, it is worth noting that in the so-called *kun-kada* style of “reading” a written Chinese *kada*-text in Japanese, the result would also be a varying number of syllables per line, presumably fitted nevertheless into the same metric grid when singing the hymn. The “Paradise” songs were sung during the *Junshi oojoo kooshiki*,

³² WOLPERT (1992, 1985a, b); NG (2005).

“Service of successive rebirth in paradise”, a liturgy compiled in the early 12th century and centered on the Amida Buddha’s avowed coming to save the soul of the dying believer — a musical counterpart to the *raigoo* depictions in art and sculpture (LAWERGREN, 2005a,b). Musical sources for these contrafacta include both neumations and mensural instrumental tablatures, as well as early written-down versions of oral *shooga*-mnemonics. Taken together they have shown (MARKHAM, 2004b, 2005):

- First, that as long deduced from the Tang Music research, a simple, common base-melody (Fig. 14) indeed underlies the various lightly embellished instrumental parts preserved in the early sources for a Tang Music melody. Such a base-melody, in a form presumably current at the time, is even simultaneously notated in flute tablature as tune-model along with its vocal elaboration for most of the paired Buddhist neumations.

The figure displays two musical staves, each with three systems of notation. The top system is labeled 'Metric grid', 'Notated tune-model (Rakuhoo-ka-ei)', and 'Takamichi's shooga'. The bottom system is labeled 'Metric grid', 'Notated tune-model (Rakuhoo-ka-ei)', and 'Neumes (C14) (Rakuhoo-ka-ei)'. Both systems share a common 'base melody' (top staff) and a 'lute' (middle staff) or 'neumation' (bottom staff). The lyrics 'ta a - ri ti - ya ra • ri i - ra • ta - n na •' are written below the staves. The 'lute' staff includes annotations: 'mordent' pointing to the 'ri' syllable, 'appoggiatura' pointing to the 'ti' syllable, and '"bag"' pointing to the 'ri' syllable. The 'neumation' staff includes a legend for 'single syllable ri = yuri (mordent)' and a series of neumatic symbols at the bottom.

Figure 14: “Paradise contrafactum”: tune-model, *shooga*-solmization, and modal ornamentation in instrumental and vocal versions of an extract from *Manzairaku*.

- Secondly, that the main ornaments (Fig. 14) in both instrumental and neumated vocal versions of the shared melody are mordent, appoggiatura, and a short run (like that already noted as presumably graced in a neume “with bulge” in Fig. 13), nicknamed “*bag*” from its constituent notes in *hyoojoo* mode-key. The mordent-like ornament *yuri*, is again written out as three notes: as three signs in instrumental tablatures for the original tunes, as three-stroke neumes in the Buddhist contrafacta. The “written-out” neume may be also glossed by the technical term, *yuri*. Ornaments are applied to specific notes of the mode-key: *yuri*, for instance, are applied to the third, fourth, and seventh degrees, to G, A, and D, respectively, as would be anticipated for a Tang Music item (ENDOO, 2005, 2003); however, it also attaches at times to the fifth, *B*, the modal degree to become the main host to extended shakes in later *shoomyoo* idiom (see the “son tremblé” in Fig. 10). The mordent, *yuri*, is referred to by a single syllable *ri* in the *shooga*-solmization seemingly sung to the base-melody (see small boxes in both systems in Fig. 14). The run, *bag*, is also referred to by the single syllable, *ri* (and the base-melody indeed suggests a mordent rather than a run); the appoggiatura, however, is referred to by two syllables, *ri-ya*.

4 A medieval Buddhist modal-model for singing four heptasyllabic lines of Chinese verse

The “Rebirth” liturgy is fitted with a texted entrance-piece of Tang Music, “Auspicious Clouds Music”:³³ Amida Buddha and his retinue descend to meet the dying on a cloud, afterall (LAWERGREN, 2005). And next comes, as “introit” hymn, the *soorai kada*. There are no neumations in the earliest extant source for the liturgy itself (SHINGEN, 1114),³⁴ but several identical early neumations for the various *kada* plotted through its nine sections, and readable in the light of “The Manifestations” and of the “Paradise” contrafacta themselves, are preserved in the famous 13th-century library Kanazawa Bunko, near Toookyoo. The nearly 200 neumated *kada*-stanzas in the largest of these sources, a comprehensive, late thirteenth-century hymnary that gathers together the *kada* for important liturgies, the *Shokyoo yoobun kada shuu*, emerge as many realizations of a single modal-model. This model-structure shares its modal language and, if Picken is right, its underlying metric grid too with both our types of Tang Music contrafactum, “The Manifestations” and the “Paradise” songs — with those in lines of 7 syllables, to be precise in the latter case.³⁵

³³ For a sound-recording of this piece played by Wu Man on Chinese *pipa* according to an original lute-tablature transnotated by Rembrandt Wolpert from a late 12th-century manuscript, see the opening solo-section to Zhao Jiping’s composition using this original version: *Sacred Cloud Music* on the CD MA et al. (2005).

³⁴ A full text for the *Junji oojoo kooshiki* survives from 1186 and is kept among the temple holdings of the Chion-in, Kyooto. The abbot and librarians of Chion-in graciously permitted me to see this treasure in 2001.

³⁵ One such song is available in transnotation as the test piece in MARKHAM and WOLPERT (2006).

The contrafacta, however, are neumations of different, probably already fixed, instrumental melodies, whereas the *kada* neumations are many variants of a single tune-model. Regarding notational layout, for the first few entries in the hymnary (Fig. 15), including for the *soorai kada*,³⁶ neumes are glossed stroke by stroke with flute-tablature signs as pitch-guides for the pentatonic form of the stipulated mode-key, again mode-key *hyoojoo* (so for a 6.123.5 pentatonic set on *E* (MARETT, 2004a)). As the repertory of standardized neumatic shapes begins to repeat, glossing trails off to settle unglossed for the bulk of the manuscript, the usual state in which early neumatic notations have been passed down.³⁷

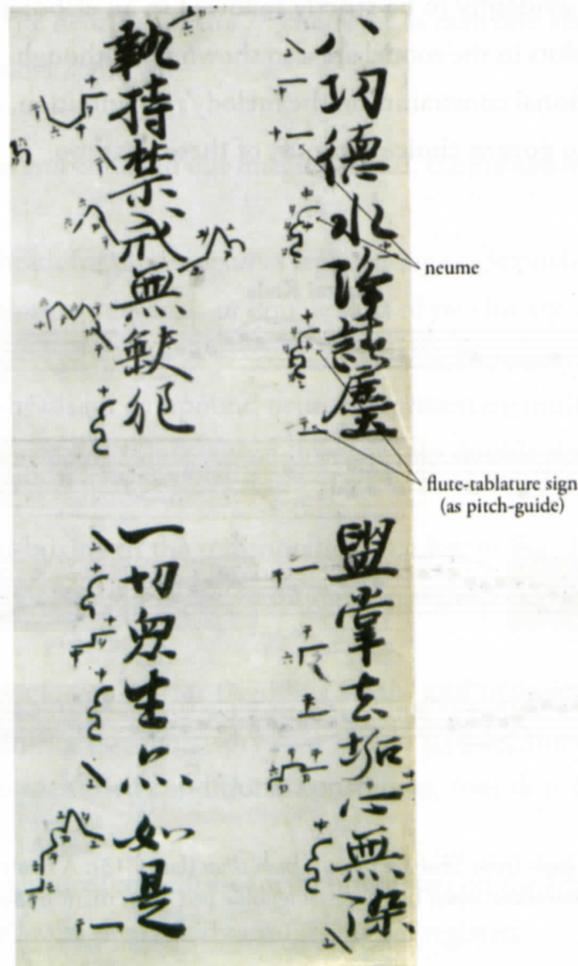


Figure 15: Opening of first *kada* in Volume 1 of *Shokyoo yoobun kada shuu* (late C13) (from facsimile publication in TAKAHASHI (1984)).

³⁶ The *soorai kada* makes its first appearance right at the outset of the hymnary (fourth in the overall sequence of neumated *kada* stanzas). The facsimile publication in TAKAHASHI (1984) is unfortunately too small to have allowed a readable reproduction of its neumatation.

³⁷ Early mnemonic drawings of mental sol-fa constructs, the “neume maps” carried in the heads of singers using such neumatic notations, are often also glossed by tablature signs.

A remarkable, indigenous *kada*-analysis survives from around this time. In a performance-orientated treatise, a *Kada kuketsu*³⁸ copied in 1374, and also preserved in the archives of Kanazawa Bunko,³⁹ line-by-line, neume-by-neume distillation and cataloging of the standardized set of melodic gestures for each text-character in the repertory of neumated *kada* together set up what is essentially a melodic *kada*-grammar. It may be imagined that, for the cantor-monk charged with singing over the course of a liturgical year a myriad different *kada* to a single modal-model (as distinct from a single fixed tune), such an articulated set of rules may have been very handy indeed. Transferred to a tentative transnotation of the neumation for the *soorai kada* in our hymnary (Fig. 16), this analytic-distillation shows up where both structural and ornamental dictates of the mode were evidently to be strictly followed in an elaboration of the *kada*-model. By default, then, variable slots in the model are also shown up, although, from preliminary study so far, constant and conditional constraints on the melody's organization, explicitly laid out in the analysis, together appear to govern choice for most of these slots too.

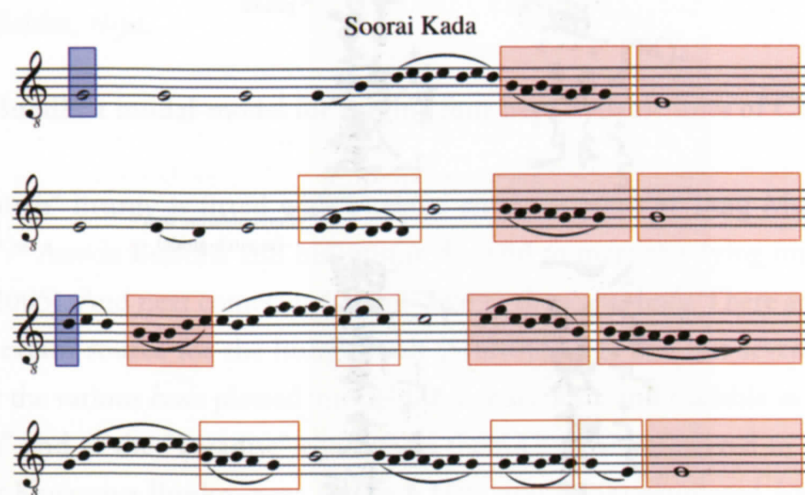


Figure 16: *Soorai kada* from *Shokyoo yobun kada shuu* (late C13): A first transnotation.
Key: filled box = constant; open box = variable; blue box = invariant line-initial.

But first to the transnotation (Fig. 16). It is unmeasured and untexted, since the neumation itself provides no mensuration, and the *soorai kada* is our single sample-hymn for pilot-testing principles apparently applicable to melodic reading of *kada*-stanzas in general. Hollow and filled

³⁸ *Kuketsu* are treatises that concern themselves with musical theory and practical performance practice of *shoomyoo* (ARAI, 1986, p. 51).

³⁹ A facsimile is available in TAKAHASHI (1984).

note-heads, spacing, and slurring are all used suggestively, as if the *kada*-neumatation were overlaid on a Picken/Wolpert text-setting metric-model (Fig. 8): for it is easy to envisage that some such metric grid-structure was carried as common knowledge for guidance in singing such a neumatation. Our imaginary grid — for a clearly ornate notation — opts for the dilated expansion in binary-units, and it assumes that:

- each of the four-lines occupies a time-span of 8 binary-units;
- each of the neumes for text-characters 1 to 6 in a line is allotted a single binary-unit slot (slots 1 to 6), with the neumes for the 7th character in each line allotted a double slot of two binary-units (slots 7 and 8).

With text-characters thus embedded in our imaginary grid, transnotation of their neumes offers:

- single hollow note-heads for simple neumes representing single pitches, whether occupying single binary-unit slots within lines, or double slots of two binary-units at line-ends;
- slurred, filled note-heads for compound neumes representing multiple-pitches, whether fitted into single binary-unit slots within lines, or into double slots at line-ends.

As represented by coded-boxing in the transnotation (see key to Fig. 16), the early analysis from the *Kada kusetsu* by a cantor-monk in the tradition, distinguishes:

- embellished cadence formulae (for fixed line finals, and including “graced” *bag*-runs) that are constant through the repertory over slots 6 to 8 for lines 1 to 3, but variable, although subject to identified conditional constraints, over slots 6 to 8 for line 4;
- a constant, pivotal gesture (embellished with initial *yuri* on the fifth, *b*) for slot 2 in line 3 that mandatorily levers the melody into its higher register;
- variable gestures for slot 4 in lines 2 and 3, and for slots 2 and 5 in line 4, with expressed conditional constraints again rendering choice as pivotal for directing melody between registers;⁴⁰

⁴⁰ For the seeming conceptualization of musical space as overlapping ranges and the apparent role of pivot pitches as levers for “modal modulation” between spatial units in a given range, see MARKHAM (2004b).

- although not specially noted in the analysis, initials in the first and third lines are invariant, finals to all four lines are fixed.

Since what is left over — and all remaining gestures are catalogued contextually according to their appropriate slots in the 4 x 7 verse-form — would have difficulty escaping the control of this strategic insistence on modal rules in moving in melody from what has just been to what may come next, it will perhaps be feasible in time to see how a pre-stage of non-notated, spontaneous processing of a modal-model may have run for the melodic reading of standard *kada* verse-forms. Perhaps this is the direction for also approaching the early circles, indenting, and dotting of text-characters in early vocal traditions?

Concluding remarks

For finally reeling-in our *yuri*-thread, transposition (in Fig. 17) to today's final, *B*, will facilitate comparison with TAKI Doonin's 1934 version of our sample hymn, the *soorai kada* (Fig. 10). And a tentative midi-chanting to syllable *a* (at <http://www.uark.edu/ua/eeam/Lisboa/Soorai-kada.mid>), measured out in spans of 8 binary-units which are internally rhythmized for now in the general light of what we know of Tang Music (and its borrowing for neumatized Buddhist contrafacta), and paced one line per breath so to speak, can help to highlight the marked embellished gestures (in Fig. 17) as transposed *bag* ornaments, themselves now additionally graced.

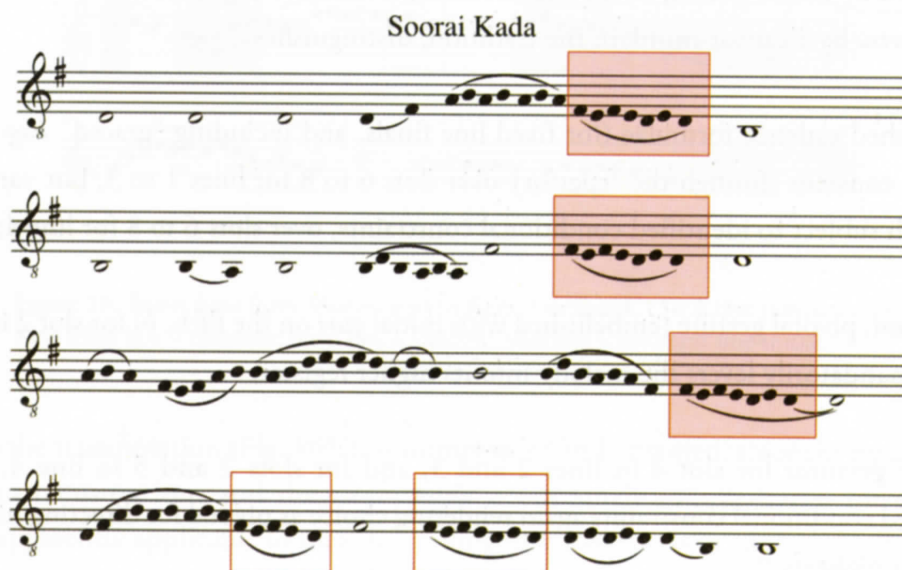


Figure 17: *Soorai kada*: transnotation of late C13 neumatation transposed to final *B*.
Key: box = "graced" bag ornament (transposed).

These graces, represented by “bulges” in neumes, emerge via the note-for-note glossing with pitch-guides in flute-tablature as most likely also mordent-like vocal embellishments;⁴¹ for the present, however, since the grouping of pitches in graced *bag* neumes remains uncertain, the question of which *bag* notes receive which form of grace (upper or lower quasi-mordent, see alternatives in Fig. 18) must remain open.

If we are right in approaching the old hymnary-neumatization of the *soorai kada* (Fig. 16) along the lines outlined in this essay — namely, as a realization of a modal-model towards the tune-end of Harold Powers famous modal continuum (POWERS, 1980, 2007), and in a Picken-style metric-matrix “apt for Tang lyrics” — then Taki Doonin’s 1934 version in broad *senza misura* delivery (Fig. 10 and TAKI [1983]) suggests that, like the Tang tunes that have become the *canti fermi* of modern Japanese *toogaku* (Fig. 5 on page 19), this modal-model too has today lost its melodic function and become a skeletal pitch-support for strings of standardized formulae in modern Japanese modality; its early principles of metric organization would then also be no longer operational. Figure 18, read top to bottom, and hand in hand with the bullets below, summarizes our observations:

solmization syllable

yuri written out in tablatures and neumations

“bag” standardized ornament

graced “bag” in *kada* (13th century)

transposed “bag” (graced)

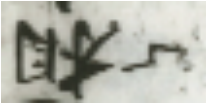
yuri

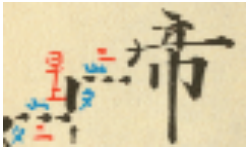
ta (a) - i

present day performance

Figure 18: Structure and Embellishment and Embellishment as Structure.

⁴¹ Eta HARICH-SCHIEDER (1965, p. 91), for instance, chooses to equate the vocal embellishment represented by the neume-bulge (and called *tsuku*) with a “half-shake”.

-  The old neumes write-out certain ornaments; *yuri* is a neume of three strokes for the three notes of the mordent. (See the neume on the left, taken from the 1282 neumatation in Fig. 12.)
- Instrumental tablatures also notate ornaments such as *yuri* and *bag*, note for note; however, these ornaments seem to have been previously obligatory, but non-notated — their mode-dependent application guided via *shooga*-solmization to an internalized base-melody.
- The late thirteenth-century *kada* collection of ornate neumatations suggests that obligatory, modal ornaments such as the run *bag*, absorbed into the melody so to speak, are again “graced”.⁴²
- And in present day performance those embellishments in turn have become structure for yet a further layer of embellishment.
- The term *yuri* now indicates formulae of slow extended shakes⁴³ sung on the separate elements of the thirteenth-century hymnary “gracing” of an original *bag*-run.

-  Our three-stroke “mordent-neume” retains its essential shape intact but has become a pictorial, structural skeleton, graphically enhanced (a broken-up “stroke” now reflects a shake, for instance) and glossed, as well, with pitch guides and the technical names of the vocal formulae it now supports. (See the neume on the left taken from the 1980 neumatation in Fig. 11.)

A vital question now will be — at which stage did the process move from ornamentation applied to a note and fitted into its allotted time-value in a metric grid, to ornamentation embedded in the melody and effectively augmented duration-wise by further layers of ornamentation? If principles of mensural organization and text-setting for early Tang Music were shared by early musical structures that carried metered *shoomyoo*-verse, as seems likely for the early *kada* repertory,

⁴² Should a lower quasi-mordent (or “half-shake”) be applied to *a* as in the alternative distribution (in Fig. 18), then *g#* may be preferred as lower note. The upper mordent is privileged as transnotation-convention here because it is what relates most obviously to how present-day performance reflects the neumatation.

⁴³ Paul DEMIÉVILLE’s (1929) examination of the principal vocal-formulae used nowadays in *shoomyoo* of the two main schools of chant, of *Tendai* and *Shingon* Buddhism, showed that the commonest formula, in fact, is *yuri* (“son tremblé”), that it exists in several variants, that these are to be sung on certain notes only of the mode, and that the specific note varies with the mode of the chant in question.

but if they come to be no longer applied, or to be no longer understood — and we know that this happened sometime between the 12th century and the present in repertories of court song with temple connections (MARKHAM, 1983a, 1990) — then ornamental neumes can lose their function too and be read not as diminutions but as augmentations. And so, while the essential shape of a neume may indeed be reassuringly preserved — retained in use, and also documented in “tangible written source materials” for hundreds of years — the use to which it is put in orally transmitted, “intangible”, performance practice may be far removed from the original intent of its early notators and users.

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Music on Japanese Raigō Images 700-1700

— and Chinese Influences

Bo Lawergren

Raigō¹ paintings show Buddha Amida descending from the Pure Land Paradise to a dying person whose soul he will receive and bring back to Paradise. Twenty-five Bodhisattvas accompany him and they play a wide range of instruments. Such paintings flourished *ca.* 1100 to 1600 in Japan, but their roots can be traced back to the eighth century in China, a time when China was the cultural pinnacle of the world. Its art showed great subtlety and skill, and its music was rich and varied. Orchestras from India, Central Asia, and Korea flocked to the Tang court in Chang'an, but practically none of their music survived in China.² At the time Japan eagerly sought the music, and manuscripts survive there. This music, called *gagaku* (Tang dynasty music), is still performed but performance practice (such as tempo) has changed over the last twelve hundred years. Musicologists³ are now attempting to restore the original sound and transcribe it to staff notation. However, ornaments and improvised passages lie beyond recovery, and rhythms were not indicated.

¹ Japanese (J:) *raigō* translates 'coming to welcome,' but is usually taken as 'welcoming descent of Amida with his 25 Bodhisattvas from the Western Pure Land,' see Fusae C. KANDA, *The Development of Amida Raigo Painting: Style, Concept, and Landscape*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 2002, p. 7. Its two kanji characters are given in R.H. MATHEWS, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, revised American ed., Cambridge: MA, 1943, as M: 3768, 7473 and pronounced *lai ying* in Modern Standard Mandarin. In the following I spell it 'raigō.'

² The exception is a lute composition of the Tang dynasty (618-907) found at Dunhuang, see Laurence PICKEN, "II. The Music of Far Eastern Asia. 1. China", pp. 83-134, in Egon WELLESZ, ed., *New Oxford History of Music, vol. I, Ancient and Oriental Music*, London, 1957, esp. 98 and 105.

³ In the last thirty years work was done by a group connected to Cambridge University, England, and their transcriptions are published in the series *Music from the Tang Court* (London, 1981-). The earliest Chinese composition found so far is a pipa solo dated 747, see R. F. WOLPERT, "A ninth-century Sino-Japanese lute-tutor", in *Musica Asiatica* 1, 1977, pp. 111-165. The piece had earlier received a different transcription by HAYASHI Kenzō in "Tempyō biwa-fu 'Bankasō' no kaidoku" reprinted in *Gagaku — Kogaku-fu no kaidoku*, Tokyo, 1969. A Japanese series (*Nihon ongakushi kenkyū*, Tokyo) began publication in 1996. The Cambridge work has been summarized several times, e.g., L. E. R. PICKEN and R. F. WOLPERT, "Mouth-organ and lute parts of Togaku and their interrelationships", in *Musica Asiatica* 3, 1981, pp. 79-95; Alan MARETT, "Toogaku: where have the Tang melodies gone, and where have the new melodies come from?", in *Ethnomusicology* 29:3, 1985, pp. 409-31; Alan MARETT, "In search of the lost melodies of Tang China: an account of recent research and its implications for the history and analysis of Toogaku", in *Musicology Australia* 9, 1986, pp. 29-38. A video was made by Thomas KNOTT, Elizabeth MARKHAM and Rembrandt WOLPERT, "On the Road to Tang... through Cambridge", Library of Congress and Center for the Study of Early Asian and Middle Eastern Musics, University of Arkansas, 2004. See also Yoshio TOZAWA, editor, *Musicology and Globalization; Proceedings of the International Congress in Shizuoka 2002 in Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Musicological Society of Japan*, Tokyo, 2004; ENDŌ Tōru, *Heian-chō no gagaku: kogaku-fu ni yoru Tōgaku-kyoku no gakuriteki kenkyū*, Tokyo, 2005.

Only the instrumental parts survive, and they form relatively small ensembles. The pieces collected in *Music from the Tang Court* have forces no larger than quartets, duos, and solos, but the small numbers are at odds with the sizes shown on raigo paintings. There Amida keeps a large entourage of musicians, often around 15. The paintings cannot tell what was played, but they show how it was done. With nearly photographic precision they convey playing techniques, instrument designs, and ensemble groupings.

Mahāyāna Buddhism was the major Buddhist school in northeast Asia,⁴ and it developed a wide repertoire of musical images. One particular sub-branch in Japan, Jōdo Buddhism, adopted Indian and Central Asian sacred texts which vividly described Paradise (the ‘Pure Land of the West’) as suffused with music, flowers, trickling water, and pleasant scents. It was in that joyous place Amida found his musicians.

I. SEVEN EXAMPLES OF RAIGO IMAGES, CA. 1050-1610 CE

Since the present concern is music and instruments, I expand on the usual definition of raigos and include other representations of the 25 Bodhisattvas mentioned in the ‘Ode to the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas,’ a text of the thirteenth century.⁵ Nakano’s survey *Art of Raigo Painting*⁶ includes them, and the precedence affirms the legitimate use here. Naturally, most work on raigos has been done by Japanese scholars, and some of it has now been reviewed by Fusae Kanda.⁷ Her analysis concerns artistic aspects and their literary underpinning but do not touch on the music. In general, musical aspects have received little attention, but they, too, have multifaceted connections that stretch far into Central Asia and deeply into Buddhist thought.

1. KŌYASAN RAIGO TRIPTYCH, MID-TWELFTH CENTURY CE

This raigo⁸ was painted in 1150-80 on three large separate sheets of hanging silk — a triptych (Fig. 1, top).⁹ Its central field shows Buddha Amida on a lotus throne and, slightly below,

⁴ Kenneth CH’EN, *Buddhism in China*, Princeton, 1972, pp. 58-60, pp. 338-364. Zenryū TSUKAMOTO, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism; From its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yüan*, trans. Leon Hurvitz, vol. 2, Tokyo, 1985, p. 657.

⁵ Section II has a translation and discussion of the Ode.

⁶ NAKANO Genzo, *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, Kyoto, 1985.

⁷ See note 1.

⁸ Originally kept in the treasure house of Enryakuji temple on Mt. Hiei, but was transferred to Kongōbuji (Seiganji) temple at Kōyasan in 1594 and is now in the Reihōkan museum, Kōyasan, Japan. The best illustrations are in *Kūkai to Kōyasan; Kōbō Daishi nyūto 1200-nen kinen* [Treasures of a Sacred Mountain; Kūkai and Mount Kōya; Special Exhibition], Osaka, 2003, Fig. 105. NAKANO (note 6), no. 15, pp. 36-43. For greater detail, see *Kokuhō Amida shōju raigōzu* [Descent of Amitābha and the heavenly multitude], Kōyasan, 1997.

⁹ Toshio FUKUYAMA, *Heian Temples: Byōdo-in and Chuson-ji*, New York/Tokyo, 1976, pp. 142-143.

two Bodhisattvas — Seishi and Kannon. The three form the ‘Amida triad.’ This Buddha manifestation¹⁰ became popular during the Chinese Tang dynasty,¹¹ and the worship spread to Japan where the first temple consecrated to Amida was founded in 761.¹² His circumstances were explained in a sūtra central to the faith.¹³ Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha born in northern India ca. 565 BCE,¹⁴ had told his pupil Ānanda of a monk called Dharmākara, who was a former reincarnation of the Buddha. Eons ago, the monk had asked for a description of the ideal Buddha and his dominion. He was told, and Dharmākara then asked to be reborn as that ideal Buddha. His wish was granted, and with the new name Amida, he now ruled over that ideal land, the Pure Land of the West. Likewise, his worshipers wished to be reborn in the Paradise of the Pure Land. When they felt the last moment approaching, they turned their faces toward the west.

Beside the principal deities in the triad, we see many lower-ranking Bodhisattvas sitting among clouds. Their ability to fly while playing an instrument relates them to *apsarāsas*¹⁵ of earlier Indian mythology. These were borrowed into Buddhist mythology and painted in Silk Road caves, particularly at Dunhuang.¹⁶ There they were surrounded by clouds, and the feature was transferred to raigo paintings.

The Kōyasan triptych has 32 figures of which 15 are musicians, and all are drawn with great precision and flair, Figs. 2-3. It is a visual *tour de force* which complements the extant instruments in the Shōsōin collection¹⁷ by showing how they were played. Except for the wind players, all musicians have parted lips and sing while playing. Other Bodhisattvas have closed lips.

Amida and his associates are slowly descending to receive the spirit of the deceased person and to bring it back for rebirth in the Pure Land. To hold it, Kannon has brought a small golden lotus throne. The primary subject of raigo paintings is the descent and the welcoming gesture. Our chief concern — the instruments — is a secondary issue, but it provides a first-hand view of Japanese music and continues to do so at least until ca. 1700.¹⁸

Art Historians recognize several types of raigos, and examples will be given here. The triptych from Kōyasan has the symmetrical design associated with the monk Genshin (942-1017).

¹⁰ Sanskrit (S): Amitābha; C: Amituofo; J: Amida; M: 1, 4459, 6447, 1982.

¹¹ CH’EN (note 4), p. 172.

¹² Louis FRÉDÉRIC, *Buddhism*, Flammarion Iconographic Guides, Paris, 1995, note 73 on page 314.

¹³ “The Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha”, trans. F. Max MÜLLER, in *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts*, The Sacred Books of the East, New York, 1969, pp. 1-85, esp. § 3, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴ Bo LAWERGREN, “Buddha as a Musician; an Illustration of a Jātaka Story”, in *Artibus Asiae* 54, 1994, pp. 226-240, esp. 226.

¹⁵ J: Hiten.

¹⁶ Bo LAWERGREN, “The Spread of Harps Between the Near and Far East During the First Millennium A. D.: Evidence of Buddhist Musical Cultures on the Silk Road”, in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4, 1995/96, pp. 233-275, Fig. 3D.

¹⁷ HAYASHI Kenzō, KISHIBE Shigeo, TAKI Ryōichi & SHIBA Sukehiro, *Musical Instruments in the Shōsōin*, Tokyo, 1967.

¹⁸ An example from 1690 retains all the instruments that had appeared on raigos six centuries earlier, see note 57.

He was a religious reformer, painter, and writer whose *Ōjō yōshū* ('Essentials of Salvation')¹⁹ deals with the rebirth in the Pure Land. The tract became immensely popular in Japan and contributed much to the rise of Pure Land Buddhism there. He advised devotees to meditate and visualize Amida at the moment of death. Indeed, paintings of death scenes show portraits of Amida mounted in front of dying devotees. The large triptych may once have filled that role. Unfortunately, few of Genshin's paintings have survived, but the triptych probably comes close to his ideal.²⁰ The tranquil pose and full face of Amida are reminiscent of early eleventh-century Japanese painting, and so is the symmetrical placement of Seishi and Kannon. Although made in the twelfth century, it uses eleventh century stylistic models.

Layout: Since the raigo picture contains many details, the instruments may be difficult to discern. To help the reader, I have made line drawings of the 15 instruments and placed them at actual positions on an empty ground (lower part of Fig. 1). My aim was less to show details of instruments, than give positions and types. These properties will be the focus of the later analysis.

I introduce a color scheme with string instruments in red lettering, wind instruments in green, untuned percussion in blue, and tuned percussion in gold. The latter are metallophones and lithophones — always a small group. This color scheme will be retained throughout the rest of the paper.

The instruments lie on a gentle arc (drawn in brown color) which passes through Amida's head. The left part of the triptych contains three percussion instruments and the right part three strings and one percussion. The center contains three winds and a percussion instrument to the right of Amida's head, and three percussions and a wind instrument to the left. Evidently, an underlying principle is at work: one instrument group (strings, winds, or percussion) dominates in each section of the picture, but usually one 'foreign' instrument intrudes. There are three such 'nearly homogeneous' ensembles: on the right panel, and one each on the left and right of Amida's head. The left panel has a homogeneous group. However, if all 15 instruments are counted as one ensemble, a different statistic emerges, see the pie-chart in Fig. 1. The total number of percussion instruments is approximately 50% and the rest is shared nearly equally by strings and winds. Viewed that way, the orchestra is thoroughly heterogeneous. In other words, when the orchestra is analyzed spatially, there is 'lumpiness' — small regions where one group dominates and produces local near-homogeneity. But the orchestra, as a whole, is heterogeneous. So is the whole raigo with 15 musicians and 17 non-musicians.

¹⁹ A small part is translated in August Karl REISCHAUER, "Genshin's *Ōjō Yōshū*: Collected Essays on Birth into Paradise", in *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 2nd series, 7, December 1930, pp. 16-97.

²⁰ FUKUYAMA (note 9), p. 32. Kanda discusses Genshin's role in the conception of early raigo images (note 1, pp. 72-74).

2. BYŌDŌIN SCULPTURES OF AMIDA SURROUNDED BY MUSICIANS, DATED 1053

The Byōdōin temple, situated between Kyoto and Nara, was finished in 1053. It is laid out around the central Phoenix hall which measures 10.3 by 11.8 m inside (for drawing, see Fig. 4, center-section). The doors of the hall were painted with raigos, and these were among the first examples of the genre. But they are now severely faded, and the orchestras are incomplete.²¹ At the same time sculpted Bodhisattvas²² were mounted on the interior walls (Fig. 4, top). Since these are well preserved, and many play instruments, I will analyze them rather than the door paintings. Although the Bodhisattvas and the large Amida are not shown in a formal raigo setting, most scholars identify them as Amida and his retinue traveling to earth to welcome a dying person.²³

The sculptures were produced in the workshop of Jōchō, one of the foremost sculptors of his time. Today the complete set consists of 52 wooden figures,²⁴ but more may originally have been present.²⁵ It is also uncertain if the original positions were the same, but they are mounted according to the numbers written on them.²⁶ Their heights vary between 87 and 40 cm, with the majority around 70 cm. The surfaces are now bare wood, but surviving traces indicate they were once decorated with gold leaf and bright colors.

Twenty-eight play instruments²⁷ and — judging by facial expressions — have attained a state of intense enjoyment. They spread out on both sides of the 5 m high Amida who sits on a central lotus throne facing east, as if sitting in the Western Paradise looking at China and Japan. He is carved in wood, painted and covered with gold foil and mother-of-pearl. The sight is impressive even without music sounding.

The musicians are larger than on the triptych but look small next to the gigantic Amida. Sitting on clouds, they are light and airy. This impression — and their placement around Amida — is reminiscent of the raigo. In this sense the hall is a large three-dimensional raigo with nearly twice as many instruments as on the Kōyasan triptych.

Layout: The instruments are placed at Amida's eye level and surround him in all directions, except for the front and rear where the Phoenix hall has passage-ways. Since it is a long and low array of sculptures,

²¹ *Byōdōin taikan*, Tokyo, 1987-1992, vol. 3; FUKUYAMA (note 9), Figs. 26, 37, and 60; NAKANO (note 6), no.1, 2-5, where speculative reconstructions are given.

²² J: *Bosatsu*; S: *Bodhisattva*.

²³ Mimi Hall YIENGPRUKSAWAN, "The Phoenix Hall at Uji and the Symmetries of Replication" in *The Art Bulletin* 77, 1995, pp. 647-672, esp. 657.

²⁴ See *Bosatsu on Clouds* (UJI, 2003), p. 52.

²⁵ However, the tight space in the hall argues against it, *Bosatsu on Clouds* (note 24), p. 54.

²⁶ Most of the sculpted clouds have a short tail which, presumably, points in a direction opposite to the motion. As they are mounted now, directions seem random (Fig. 4a), but this effect may have been intended.

²⁷ *Byōdōin taikan* (note 21), vols.1-2.

I have broken it into two rows in Fig. 4 (bottom). Those mounted on the west-north-east walls (marked blue on the ground plan) are put in a blue rectangle. The west-south-east walls are given red color in Fig. 4. As in the triptych, instruments are shown but not dancers and singers. Positions on the figure are roughly the same as on the wall. Since they are confined by the narrow frieze on the walls, one cannot expect the instruments to lie on a simple curve as in the triptych.

There are 14 instruments on each side of Amida. Some are identical pairs, such as the large vertical drums, the horizontal drums,²⁸ the pairs of horizontal cymbals, the sets of clappers, the zithers, and the lutes. Other pairs have similar shape but differ in size, such as the small and large vertical drums (both are played with drum-sticks), the long and short pipes,²⁹ and the small and large hourglass drums.

Some of the drums are similar to instruments still played in Japan.³⁰ The large hourglass drum is beaten by a hand at each end,³¹ whereas the small is played with only one hand — much like the current *kotsuzumi* although it is played resting in the lap rather than on the shoulder.³² Both the small horizontal drum and the large vertical one have cylindrical bodies. The former looks much like the current *taiko* drum³³ and, like it, is played in a tilted position. The large vertical drum lacks the flaming, but otherwise resembles the current model.³⁴

There are also single instruments: a gong and a metallophone, both hanging in identical frames, the former played with two mallets, the latter with a single hammer. There is a single set of panpipes, a rattle drum,³⁵ a mouth organ, and a small hand-held bell struck with a mallet. There is an angular harp, a unique occurrence on raigo paintings, although common elsewhere, e.g. in China (Figs. 18–23). Normally, raigo paintings show vajra harps (Figs. 1, 3, 7, and 9), see section 5.iv.

Again, a rule seems to be operating: instruments shown in pairs remain in use today, while those shown singly have died out. The one exception is the mouth organ — still an important member of court orchestras. Byōdōin seems to foretell the later musical taste of Japan.

²⁸ ‘Vertical’ and ‘horizontal’ refer to the direction of the drum skin. There seems to be another large drum in the Phoenix hall, here put near the gong in the blue rectangle. The only surviving part is a out-stretched arm with the hand holding a drum stick.

²⁹ Here the term ‘pipe’ designates vertical wind instruments, either reed-instruments or end-blown flutes. Images cannot always distinguish the two.

³⁰ For modern instruments, see William P. MALM, *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments*, New York, 2000, new ed., pp. 137-141.

³¹ MALM (note 30), Fig. 33.

³² MALM (note 30), Figs. 41-44.

³³ MALM (note 30), Figs. 1, 41, and 45.

³⁴ MALM (note 30), Figs. 32 and 36.

³⁵ It is not used the normal way, where it is held by the left hand while the right beats a small horizontal drum. Here the small drum is missing.

There are three pie-charts, small ones for the blue (4 strings, 2 winds, 8 percussion) and red (2 strings, 3 winds, 8 untuned, and 1 tuned percussion) rectangles, and a large one for the total. Percussion dominates slightly, both in the rectangles and the total. There is a slight tendency for like instruments to cluster, e.g., a zither is placed close to a harp on the south wall and close to a lute (twice) on the north wall. A pipe and a flute are next to each other on the south wall. Percussion instruments are often clustered, but it may be an accidental effect due to their abundance.

3. RAIGO OF DESCENT AND ASCENT, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The next raigo differs from the two earlier ones in showing both the descent and ascent (Fig. 5). The lower part — the descent — shows the dying man on the front verandah of his one-story house. Amida gazes at him, ready to fetch his spirit. Near the top of the raigo Amida reappears, now in the last phase of his journey. He looks left to a two-storey mansion in the Pure Land. Two successive moments are shown in the same raigo.

The descent has survived well but shows only 11 instruments, less than at Kōyasan. The reduction may be due to the small space available. The ascent is less well preserved, and one cannot tell if all instruments have returned safely.

Layout: The 11 instruments of the descending party lie on gentle curves colored brown in the line drawing. There is considerable leeway in drawing the paths, but the musicians arrive on both sides of Amida. In that sense the path matches the line in raigo 1. Since the instruments are confined to a narrow space one can rank them based on position. The front is taken by an hourglass drum. Two strings follow, and further back are winds and percussion instruments. A large red drum with an aureole (cf. Fig. 2) comes last.

The instruments are similar to those on the triptych, but four are missing: harp, flute, panpipes, and clapper, a heterogeneous selection which leaves the pie chart similar to that of the triptych. There is 50% is percussion and the rest is divided nearly equally between strings and winds. The ascending orchestra is difficult to discern — apart from the large red drum.

4. RAPID RAIGO IN CHION'IN, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

On this famous³⁶ raigo in Kyoto the descent is diagonal and appears to be more rapid than on the symmetrical Kōyasan triptych painted two centuries earlier (Fig. 6).³⁷ It is a 'rapid raigo.'³⁸ The clouds are no longer small fluffy spots (Fig. 1) but have congealed into a steam-lined sheet.

³⁶ Its fame may have inspired a 'raigo garden' on the temple grounds. This 'Nijugo Bosatsu no niwa' has 25 stones symbolizing the Bodhisattvas. Azalea shrubs represent the fast-flying clouds which carry the Bodhisattvas. There is another raigo garden in the Hōzenin monastery, Kōyasan, laid out *ca.* 1570.

Layout: There are 14 instruments divided into two streams on either side of Amida. They lie on two paths, both heading toward the dying person. (The forked path is marked with brown arrows in the lower half of Fig. 6.) Two small drums head the entourage, and their loud and rhythmic music cheers the man sitting on the porch of his house. As before, a large drum lumbers at the rear. The pie-chart resembles the previous ones with its emphasis on percussion.

5. RAIGO WITH CARTOUCHES, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, LATE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Of the several raigo paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, this is the largest (Fig. 7).³⁹ It has high artistic merit, but the most remarkable aspect is a number of cartouches which name Bodhisattvas (Fig. 8). Such labeled raigos are very rare. The utility of the names comes to the fore when we equate them to the names of the 25 Bodhisattvas mentioned in a thirteenth century Ode (section 2).⁴⁰ The Ode gives the instrument played by each Bodhisattva and we can compare it to the instrument actually painted.

Many of the instrument names in the Ode are well-known, but some are not, e.g., the instrument played by Bodhisattva Kego-nō. Its Chinese graph⁴¹ has two components, both currently in use as characters on their own,⁴² but the combination into one character is unknown. The cartouches may provide a solution: we can see what instrument is drawn. Unfortunately, the method does not yield a straight-forward answer. Some instruments with known shapes and names are wrongly identified, e.g., Sammai-ō who is said to scatter flowers is, instead, shown playing a metallophone. I will return to the analysis of *ji/kei* in section 2.

The raigo shows Amida surrounded by 25 Bodhisattvas, each with a halo and garment of light golden color. But there are two additional figures, both with shaven heads and cloths of dark color. The one at the left edge near the large drum has a cartouche labeling him Ryūju.⁴³

³⁷ Hanging scroll, 145.1 x 154.5 cm. NAKANO (note 6), no. 7, pp. 23-25.

³⁸ J: *Haya raigō*.

³⁹ Cf. Denise Patry LEIDY & Robert A.F. THURMAN, *Mandala, the Architecture of Enlightenment*, New York, 1997, pp. 60-63.

⁴⁰ The Ode was once thought to have been written by Genshin, but it is now considered two centuries later, and I will call the author Pseudo-Genshin. See Jōji OKAZAKI, trans. and adapted by Elizabeth ten GROTEHUIS, *Pure Land Buddhist Painting*, Tokyo, 1977, p. 114.

⁴¹ The character 𠂔 is listed in MOROHASHI Tetsuji, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*, Tokyo, 1984-1990, vol. 11, 12080, no. 40365. This dictionary contains most kanji characters ever used in classical Japanese, but in this case it offers no comment on the meaning, although it gives the pronunciation as C: *ji*; J: *kei*. The character is mentioned already in the Chinese dictionary *Yu pian* compiled by GU Yenang (519-581). I am grateful for expert help by Professor Mary Anne Cartelli who energetically explored the *ji*-character.

⁴² The left side of the character is (C: *jin*; M: 1057, meaning 'metal'). The right side is (C: *gui*; M: 3609, meaning 'baton' or 'tablet').

⁴³ S: *Nāgārjuna*.

He lived in south Indian and was considered one of the first propagators of the Mahāyāna doctrines. The other, higher up and at the center, has no cartouche but may be Jizō,⁴⁴ a popular cult figure in Japan. This pair of monks also appears on raigo vi. Only 17 cartouches are visible. Nine Bodhisattvas lack them, all located on the right side of the picture.

In the line drawing of Fig. 7 the instrument names derived from the cartouches have been enclosed in rectangular boxes. They are labeled with the line number of the Ode. In addition, each instrument is identified by the painted image, and its name (in appropriately colored font) is placed above the box. For four instruments the image agrees with the name in the Ode: large drum, mouth organ, flute, and *koto*. The painting shows Shishiku playing the hourglass drum, but line 7 of the Ode only says he ‘taps out edification.’ Evidently, the verb is understood as ‘tapping a drum,’ and we may consider it an agreement. But many cases disagree, see Table 1.

Layout: The instruments lie on a smooth path folded around Amida. There are 15 instruments, the same as on the Kōyasan triptych, and the instruments are nearly identical. The only difference is a lithophone added and a pipe subtracted, arithmetic that increases the percussion percentage. The single-element lithophone has the L-shape familiar from the ancient Zhou dynasty ritual orchestras.⁴⁵ The stone slab is suspended from a narrow stand with an animal head at the top — also of ancient Chinese descent.

A gong hangs in a frame surrounded by an aureole that looks like a small version of those on large drums. The introduction of the gong and the lithophones may have occurred in the fourteenth century.

6. SEVENTEEN HANGING SCROLLS, NISONIN TEMPLE, KYOTO, 1402-1419

These scrolls depict the 25 Bodhisattvas riding on clouds (Fig. 9, top),⁴⁶ much in the tradition of raigos. The scrolls are divided into two sets (‘north’ and ‘south’) hanging on a wall with a sculpture in between. Here they are numbered progressively away from the central sculpture. The complete arrangement is shown in the lower part of Fig. 9.

Cartouches in the upper left and right corners of the scrolls gives the name of the represented Bodhisattva, and all but two come from Pseudo-Genshin’s Ode. The additional ones, Jizō and Ryūju, flank the display. They are drawn as monks with shaven heads. As discussed above, they are important figures in Japanese Buddhism, but neither is a musician, nor mentioned in the Ode.

⁴⁴ S: Kṣitigarbha.

⁴⁵ There it was a set of progressively tuned stones, see Li Chunyi, *Zhongguo shanggu chutu yueqi zonglun*, Beijing, 1996, pp. 50-64.

⁴⁶ NAKANO (note 6), no. 35, pp. 84-85.

The first scrolls (north and south) depict the sun (made of gold foil) and moon (silver foil) without cartouches. This sun-and-moon motif is most unusual and not clearly understood. Perhaps the celestial bodies represent the Buddha who the *Lotus Sūtra* repeatedly calls ‘Sun Moon Light Tathāgata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honored One,’⁴⁷ or perhaps they allude to the phrase ‘Buddha of the Light that Surpasses Sun and Moon.’⁴⁸

Fourteen Bodhisattvas play instruments, and these are distributed across ten scrolls (Fig. 9, middle). Rather than giving the names in the cartouches, I chose to give the line number in the Ode (section 2). Here the set of numbers are complete, unlike the case of raigo V where many cartouches were missing. I use the same scheme as for raigo V: black rectangles give the line numbers, and the names of the instruments identified in the Ode; the instruments actually drawn are named in colored letters above each rectangle. Column three of Table 1 summarizes the data.

The same five instruments (hourglass drum,⁴⁹ mouth organ, flute, *koto*, and large drum) found to agree with the text in raigo V, agree here too. In addition, lute and harp do. Of course, that may also have been the intention on raigo V, but there is no certainty with both cartouches missing. This gives a corpus of seven instruments named consistently by fourteenth and fifteenth century raigo painters. It includes at least two instruments from each of the three groups of strings, winds, and percussion.

Layout: Here all 25 of the Bodhisattvas are identified, and for the first time we can see how these correlate spatially with the Ode. The Bodhisattva on line 1 of the Ode is painted on the second scroll of the northern set, and Bodhisattva 2 on the second scroll in the southern set. The layout proceeds back and forth between north and south until Bodhisattva 13, where more complex pattern starts. Apparently, the Ode only served as a partial guide to the visual organization.

The pie diagram is similar to those above with the percussion ca. 50%.

7. TWO MAUSOLEA WITH MUSICIANS IN RELIEF, 1604 AND 1607

There is a pair of mausolea in the Okunoin cemetery of Kōyasan. As seen from the main walking path, the one on the right belongs to MATSUDAIRA Hideyasu (1574-1607),⁵⁰ and the one

⁴⁷ Bunnō KATO, Yoshirō TAMURA, and Kōjirō MIYASAKA, with revisions by W. E. SOOTHILL, Wilhelm SCHIFFER, and Pier P. del CAMPANA, *The Threefold Lotus Sutra: Innumerable Meanings, The Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, and Meditation on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue*, Tokyo, 1990, pp. 42-44.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth ten GROTENHUIS, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geometry*, Honolulu, 1999, citing the Muryōjūkyō Sūtra, p. 18.

⁴⁹ Raigo VI has a rattle drum.

⁵⁰ Hideyasu was the second son of TOKUGAWA Ieyasu (1543-1616), founder of the shogunate which ruled Japan until 1867. At the age of 16 Hideyasu was adopted by a feudal lord (*daimyō*) with no children of his own. Ten years later

on the left to his mother († 1604). The stone structures lie on a picturesque slope between tall cedars and are surrounded by fences made of narrow chiseled stone slabs (Fig. 10, top). The walls of the mausolea display Bodhisattvas in shallow relief (Fig. 10, bottom). Including Amida, there are 25 figures. (The Ode has 25, excluding Amida.)

Figure 11 gives the complete sets of instruments. The earliest mausoleum has no reliefs on the front, but the later one has: it shows flying *gandharvas* at positions 29 and 30 (Fig. 11). Both hold a pair of drum sticks but share a large drum.

The mausolea were produced a century after the Nisonin scrolls, and the choice of instruments has undergone substantial changes. The main corpus is still intact (flute, *koto*, lute, small and large drum), but new additions have crept in (panpipes,⁵¹ conch trumpet,⁵² and leaf whistle⁵³). There are now many more large drums but with decreased size. They are mounted on pedestals, but their aureoles are still prominent.

Layout: Each building has 12 instruments, but they are not identical. With the addition of the *apsaras* on the front, percussion increased on the latest mausoleum. It also has the complete Amida triad, but only Amida himself appears on the first structure.

8. SUMMARY OF RAIGO DEPICTIONS

A very large number of raigo images are known from the Japanese Middle Ages (*ca.* eleventh to seventeenth centuries). The seven chosen here are representative and show most of the musical features characteristic of the genre. On the first raigo, an eleventh-century triptych, Amida and his entourage are a symmetric composition with static character. Later raigos show the heavenly party flying directly toward the dying person, and some also add an illustration of the return to the Pure Land. Rapid raigos give the impression of fast motion. The Ode by Pseudo-Genshin mentions 12 instruments, but early images show more, 14-28. Images on the seventeenth century mausolea have the required 12 but add new instruments not mentioned in the Ode.

At all times the percussion group dominates. The small hourglass drum often took position at the front and the large cylindrical drum at the rear. Strings followed the front drum. Winds and the rest of the percussion came next.

Hideyasu assisted in the battle of Sekigahara which brought Ieyasu to power. As a reward, Hideyasu was made the *damyō* of Echizen.

⁵¹ C: *xiao*; J: *shō*. M: 2619.

⁵² C: *faluō*; J: *horagai*. M: 1762, 4111, see Hajime FUKAI, "The *Hōra* (Conch Trumpet) of Japan", *Galpin Society Journal* 47, 1994, pp. 47-62.

⁵³ C: *xiaoye*; J: *shō*. M: 2618, 7319. The whistling leaf was a venerable Chinese instrument. It is shown in the hands of Ruan Ji on the stamped-brick image 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove,' dated 380-420. James C. Y. WATT, *China, Dawn of a Golden Age, 200 – 750 AD*, New York, 2004, no. 113, pp. 206-209, and 8.

II. ODE TO TWENTY-FIVE BODHISATTVAS, AND THE NAMES OF THE INSTRUMENTS

Raigo images call to mind Pseudo-Genshin's Ode,⁵⁴ and it is now high time to examine it. It has 33 lines and the first three carry an assurance that Bodhisattvas will come with music and greet the dying. They are named in the next 25 lines (here indexed with Arabic numerals), as are the object they carry, twelve of them being musical instruments. The last five lines of the Ode express a wish that Amida will appear at the moment of death.

The translation is based on the one published in 1977,⁵⁵ but revises the names of the instruments.⁵⁶ Table 1 lists the twelve instruments in the order of the Ode. Column 1 has the name in the Ode. The next two columns have the instruments given to the Bodhisattvas in the raigos with cartouches. The forth column gives the instruments shown on a raigo from 1690.⁵⁷ Although not formally treated here, it offers a late example of the raigo genre.

Ode to the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas

A. Salutation and obeisance to the vows of the twenty-five Bodhisattvas of Paradise.

B. Who promise that they will appear at the moment of death to the folk who receive and sincerely practice *nembutsu*.

C. Proffering auspicious signs of music and unusual fragrances, the Bodhisattvas come to greet the dying. How wonderful!

1. The lotus throne of the Bodhisattva Kannon bears all of us up to Paradise.

2. The prayerful gesture of the Bodhisattva Seishi symbolizes the nonduality of wisdom and mental concentration.

⁵⁴ The original Japanese text is given in HIEIZAN Senshūin and EIZAN Gakuin (eds.), *Eshin Sōzu zenshū* [Collected works by Eshin Sōzu], vol. 1, pp. 667-670 (Sakamoto, 1927-8, reprinted Kyoto 1971).

⁵⁵ OKAZAKI (note 40), pp. 114-116.

⁵⁶ Two instruments (on lines 13 and 18) are given in hiragana, all other in kanji characters.

⁵⁷ This raigo carries the heading 'Twenty-five Bodhisattvas' and shows 28 figures playing 13 instruments spread over two pages. The most recent illustration is in FRÉDÉRIC (note 12), pp. 318-319, which apparently was based on Philipp Franz VON SIEBOLD's *Nippon; Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan*, first published 1832-1852 but reprinted several times. The editors of a Japanese reprint found documents in von Siebold's archives which proved that this illustration, too, was a copy [Philipp Franz VON SIEBOLD (NAKAI Akio *et al.*, eds.), *Nippon / Firippu Furantsu fon Shīboruto cho*, Tokyo, 1978-1979, 2, note 10]. According to them, it was copied from TOSA Hidenobu, *Butsuzo-zu-i* [Collections of Buddha Images], first published in 1690. The collection was reissued in 1783, 1792, and 1796, and von Siebold probably acquired the last reissue.

3. The banner of the Bodhisattva Fugen points out the path to perpetually obedient humanity.
4. The hanging banner of the Bodhisattva Yakuō waves the message of agelessness and deathlessness.
5. The jade flag of the Bodhisattva Yakujō indicates the ranks of rebirth in that distant land.
6. The flower garlands of the Bodhisattva Hōjizai express the meritorious power of Amida's infallible salvation.
7. The boisterous cavorting of the Bodhisattva Shishiku taps out edification, reaching downward for unenlightened folk.
8. The swaying sleeves of the dancing Bodhisattva Darani exhort unenlightened folk to seek upward for spiritual awakening.⁵⁸
9. The hourglass drum⁵⁹ of the Bodhisattva Kokūzō sounds aloud the power to fulfill merit and wisdom.
10. The sound of the mouth organ⁶⁰ of the Bodhisattva Tokuzō reverberates with the eighteen excellences of the Buddhas.
11. The cry of the flute⁶¹ of the Bodhisattva Hōzō blows the cool breeze of the three gates to enlightenment.
12. The music of the zither⁶² of the Bodhisattva Konzō manifests the thirty-seven deities.

⁵⁸ On Tosa's raigo (note 57) Darani wears a shawl over his shoulders and folds it into loops held in each hand. A similar posture is seen on the Matsudaira mausoleum of 1604, Fig. 11, position 5. The arrangement had been used already at Byōdōin six centuries earlier (FUKUYAMA [note 9], Fig. 58).

⁵⁹ C: *yaogu*; J: *yōko*. M: 7302, 3479. Literally 'waist drum.'

⁶⁰ C: *sheng*; J: *shō*. M: 5742.

⁶¹ C: *dī*; J: *teki*. M: 6217.

⁶² Literally '*zheng of qin*' (M: 369 of 1103) referring to two Chinese zithers of distinct shape, history, and number of strings, 14 and 7, respectively, see Bo LAWERGREN, "Strings", pp. 65-85, in Jenny F. SO, ed., *Music in the Age of Confucius*, Washington, 2000. The composite expression is rare. In Japanese both kanji characters usually refer to the *koto*. Since *koto* is spelled out in hiragana characters on line 13, another type of zither is probably meant here, possibly the ancient Japanese *wagon*. It has indigenous roots in Japan unlike the *koto* which probably developed from an imported Chinese *zheng*, MALM (note 30), p. 194.

13. The twanging of the strings of the *koto* of Kongōzō resounds with the oneness of the Ten Worlds.

14. The strumming of the lute⁶³ of the Bodhisattva Kōmyō-ō lightens the perplexity of oppressive nonknowledge.

15. The strings of the harp⁶⁴ of the Bodhisattva Sankai-e teach the principle of quiescence and Absolute Reality.

16. The sound of the *ji* (or *kei*)⁶⁵ of the Bodhisattva Kegon-ō fills up the whole universe as the object of mind.

17. The clanging gong⁶⁶ of the Bodhisattva Shuhō-ō extols the One-Buddha Vehicle.

18. The swaying rattle-drum⁶⁷ of the Bodhisattva Gakkō-ō causes the World of the Ten Quarters to reverberate.

19. The *jie* (or *kakko*) drum⁶⁸ of the Bodhisattva Nisshō-ō extols the four realms embraced in Eternally Tranquil Light.

20. The flowers scattered before Amida's image by the Bodhisattva Sammai-ō are dispersed in the realms of empty space and sea.

⁶³ C: *pipa*; J: *biwa*. M: 5157.

⁶⁴ C: *konghou*; J: *kugo*. M: 3727, 2141.

⁶⁵ C: *ji*; J: *kei*. A *hapax legomenon*. See notes 41 and 42.

⁶⁶ C: *nao*; J: *nyō*. M: 4641. MALM (note 30, pages 71 and 246 'Dora') shows it as a large gong hanging from strings attached to its rim. Walter KAUFMANN, *Musical References in the Chinese Classics*, Detroit Monographs in Musicology 5, Detroit, 1976, pp. 136-7 shows it as large horizontal cymbals.

⁶⁷ The name *furi-tsuzumi*, given in hiragana characters, is a rattle-drum. It has two small drums mounted on top of each other and pierced by the 50 cm long and narrow shaft held in the player's hand. When the shaft is twisted, tiny pellets swing out and hit the drum skins.

⁶⁸ C: *jie gu*, M: 779, 3479. There are two translations of *jie*: (i) the ancient name for a *Xiongnu* [or *Khitan*, see Edwin G. PULLEYBLANK, *T'oung Pao* 41, 1952, pp. 317-356] tribe in northern China; (ii) the 'wether' (a gelded male sheep). Edward H. SCHAFER, in *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, Berkeley, 1985, p. 52, note 104, gives 'wether drum,' but '*jie*-drum' avoids the uncertain choice. The drum was introduced to the Chinese court during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong (712-756), who composed 92 pieces for it, which made the drum extremely popular. It has a lacquered cylindrical body which rests on a horizontal platform. Since each end had a deer-skin membrane of greater diameter than the body, the drum looks like a 'spool,' see L. E. R. PICKEN, «T'ang Music and Musical Instruments», *T'oung Pao* 55, 1969, pp. 74-122, esp. 103. It was beaten by two sticks, see Evangeline Dora EDWARDS, *Chinese Prose Literature of the Tang Period (618-906)*, London, 1937, vol. 1, pp. 202-3 — an account that follows the early treatise by Nan ZHOU, *Jiegu lu* (841-846) in which the drum is said to have come from Central Asia.

21. The large drum⁶⁹ of the Bodhisattva Jōjizai-ō sounds like a great assembly of nondiscrimination.

22. The flower banner of the Bodhisattva Daijizai-ō soars up toward absolute non-substantiality.

23. The jeweled flag of the Bodhisattva Hakuzō-ō flutters in the heaven of Ultimate Truth.

24. The beautiful jewel of Dai-itoku-ō is imbued with the teaching free of any taint of illusion.

25. The burning incense of the Bodhisattva Muhenshin is offered respectfully to venerate Amida Buddha.

D–F. I pray that thou, Amida, thanks to thy unsurpassed, compassionate vow, may come to receive us in person at the death hour through our single-hearted remembrance of thee... we who are embraced in thy universal vow but dwell sin-ridden in this evil world of the five defilements.

G. I desire to be reborn on hearing of the power of the Original Vow of the Buddha and his name.

H. May all people attain that land and may I myself achieve the stage of not back-sliding!

Since the Ode became popular in the thirteenth century, the two raigos with cartouches are late enough (1370-1420) to, possibly, have been influences by it. Table 1 enables a comparison of the instrument names. As mentioned earlier, there is a set of six instruments (mouth organ [line 10],

In Japan the drum was called *kakko*. By itself, the first character of the kanji pair (M: 779, 3479) is pronounced *katsu* but, when followed by *ko* (drum), the full name becomes *kakko*. According to the kanji dictionary, the drum was used by the Katsu tribe in China. The *kakko* was and is popular in Japan, and its shape is the same as the one given by Nan Zhou. But the kanji pair above was rarely used. Instead, it is given by another kanji character (plus *ko*) which, in turn, is rare in China. Mathew does not have that character, but it appears in the 13-volume *Hanyu da cidian* “Great Chinese Word Dictionary”, Shanghai, 1986-93, vol. 12, p. 203, pronounced *he*. The word is mostly combined into *mohe*, the name of an ancient Manchurian tribe. (On its own *he* refers to the cord used to set ladies’ hair.) Thus, in China the spool-shaped drum was called *jiegu* using a character that associated it with an ancient tribe that had lived west of Beijing, although Nan Zhou said it came from Central Asia (i.e. Kucha). In Japan the same drum was called *kakko*, using a kanji character associating it with an ancient Manchurian tribe.

⁶⁹ C: *dagu*; J: *taiko*. M: 5943, 3479.

flute [11], *koto* [13], lute [14], harp [15], and large drum [21]) where the sources agree. In addition, line 7 ('Shishiku taps out') always has a small drum. For these lines the painters associated Bodhisattvas with the instruments given in the Ode.

But several other instruments disagree with the Ode. On line 6 the Ode does not mention rhythm or dance, but raigos V and VI have the same two drums as on line 7, although in reversed order. This might be reasonable if lines 6 and 7 had parallel construction, but it is not the case. There is no verb in line 6 that alludes to percussion.

Columns 2 and 3 agree internally on the instruments that belong to the Bodhisattvas of lines 9, 12, 18, and 20, but disagree with the instruments of the Ode. The mutual consistency and independence from the text indicate that painters ignored the Ode and copied from each other or from an unknown source.

The identity of the instrument on lines 16 is not known, and I had hoped that the raigos would show them. But line 16 is contradictory: the three sources disagree (gongs, lithophones, and metallophones). However, these instruments have one thing in common: all are struck by metal hammers. The hammers are shaped like the letter T, distinctly different from the shape of a mallet (a small ball attached at the end of a stick). The former is hard and capable of putting a hard percussion instrument into vibration. The latter is soft and mostly used on drums. The artists who drew the raigos distinguished the two. I propose that (C: *ji*; J: *kei*) stood for an implement ('hammer'), rather than an instrument. This assignment accords with the connection to 'metal' and 'baton' noticed earlier.⁷⁰ Therefore, I suggest that *kei*-instruments are those struck by a metal hammer.

Column 4 has excellent correlations with the Ode, e.g., line 9 has a drum in accordance with the Ode — not a dancer as in columns 2 and 3. The agreement extends to lines 12 and 20, and makes the correspondence perfect. By 1690 the Ode had finally become the blue-print for raigos.

III. THE POSITION OF MUSIC IN BUDDHISM

Buddhists approved of music and elevated it a central role in raigo images, but they had not always held that belief. After the death of the historical Buddha a difficult period followed. He had been the son of a king and had enjoyed the palace orchestra, both music and female musicians. They had played harps, flutes, pipes, and percussion. Eventually he rejected courtly life, left home, and gained enlightenment. Music came to be seen as one of the depravities of his youth, a corrupting force and an aid to seduction.⁷¹ One of the oldest texts in the Buddhist canon,

⁷⁰ See note 42.

⁷¹ LAWERGREN (note 14), pp. 233-238.

the *Brahmajāla Sūtra*, required monks to ‘avoid watching dancing, singing, music, and shows.’⁷² The Buddha also took a dim view of singing the sacred texts. It decreased comprehension.⁷³

Centuries later when Buddhism arrived in China attitudes had changed radically. Mahāyāna *sūtras* assured Buddhists that music is one of the great pleasures of Paradise. There would be ‘music, concerts, and musical instruments,’ and worshipers would have access to an assortment of ‘materials, beginning with flowers and ending with musical instruments.’⁷⁴ The *sūtras*, written in India or Central Asia during the early parts of the first millennium CE, named the instruments, and most were Western. The Lotus *sūtra* implored Buddhists to honor Buddha with orchestras that include drums, horns, conch shells, pipes, flutes, zithers, harps, lutes, cymbals, and gongs.⁷⁵ When the Silk Road opened during the early parts of the millennium, it became a conduit of Western instruments into China, from where they spread to Korea and Japan. Buddha’s biography impressed listeners on the Silk Road and in China. His court orchestras may have been rejected by Buddha, but they now gained esteem and were imitated by rulers in converted regions.

Music was not only a mental pleasure but held symbolic value in the Pure Land. ‘In that land, there are thousands of varieties of spontaneous music, which are all, without exception, sounds of the Dharma. They are clear and serene, full of depth and resonance, delicate, and harmonious; they are the most excellent sounds in all the worlds of the ten directions.’⁷⁶

Genshin’s *Ōjō yōshū* fits into the tradition when it promises that ‘The great vow of Amida is such that he comes with twenty-five Bodhisattvas and the host of hundred thousand monks. In the western skies purple clouds will be floating, flowers will rain down and strange perfumes will fill the air in all directions. The sound of music is continually heard and golden rays of light streams forth. In brilliant rays which dazzle the eyes, he will appear. At the time of death, the merciful Kannon, with extended hands of a hundred blessings and sublimity and holding out a lotus seat of treasures, will appear before the believer.’⁷⁷

IV. THE TAIMA MANDARA FROM CHINA: AN EIGHTH CENTURY PRECURSOR TO RAIGOS

Most of the instruments shown on raigos were not indigenous to Japan, but came from China. One piece of evidence is the Taima mandara,⁷⁸ which was imported from China in the eight century.

⁷² Maurice WALSH, *Thus I Have Heard; the Long Discourse of the Buddha, Dīgha Nikāya*, London, 1987, p. 69.

⁷³ Bo LAWERGREEN, «Buddhismus», in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2, Kassel, 1995, esp. column 227.

⁷⁴ MÜLLER (note 13), p. 53.

⁷⁵ Burton WATSON (trans.), *The Lotus Sutra*, New York, 1993, chapter 2, p. 40; KATŌ (note 47), p. 69.

⁷⁶ Hisao INAGAKI (trans.), “The Sutra on the Buddha of Infinite Life Delivered by Śākyamuni Buddha” in *The Three Pure Land Sutras*, Berkeley, 2003, rev. second ed., pp. 1-71, esp. 29.

⁷⁷ REISCHAUER (note 19), pp. 68-69.

⁷⁸ S: *maṇḍala*; J: mandara.

Art Historians consider it to be the impetus to raigo paintings.⁷⁹ It was placed in the Taimadera temple, Nara, and is now in fragmentary condition, but many copies were made starting in the thirteenth century,⁸⁰ including the large scroll in Fig. 12. It shows deities, palatial buildings, and throngs of people, and the very center has the same 'Amida triad' as seen on raigos. A border runs along the right, left, and bottom edges, and it is subdivided into many small scenes. The one in the lower right corner illustrates Amida descending to greet a dying person resting in his house (Fig. 13).⁸¹ The image is small and unclear, but some instruments can be discerned in Amida's entourage, in particular a large red barrel-drum at the rear, similar to the current *ōdaiko* drum. Its diameter is smaller than its length, a geometry which set it apart from the large drum (*dadaiko*) with aureoles seen on raigos. With its large size and position at the rear end of a procession, it foreshadows the use of huge drums on raigos and in the Gagaku ensemble.

But the most important musical aspect of the Taima mandara are the two orchestras shown in the black rectangle in Fig. 12. Figure 14 shows the details. The large orchestra has adult members seated in two rows, and the small one has babies who stand in a pool. Presumably, the babies are adults reborn (with red socks) in the Pure Land. The adult orchestra has eight instruments with two zithers next to each other at the left front, and a lute at the right front. Strings are prominent, but winds are also present (flute, pipe, mouth organ and conch trumpet). Percussion is absent. The baby orchestra has only two instruments, a lute and a drum. Two seated persons in the background sway in dance-like motion.

The iconography derives from sacred texts about the Pure Land. There are 'palaces of fifty to five hundred *yojanas* (each ca. 8 miles) in extent,'⁸² built on 'seven terraces, with seven rows of palm-trees, and with strings of bells. It is enclosed on every side, beautiful, brilliant with four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, and crystal... with lotus lakes... full of water... with golden sand... There are heavenly musical instruments always played on.'⁸³ This prospectus promises 'palaces, parks and gardens; lotus lakes with perfumed water that is either hot or cold as desired for bathing; delightful soothing sounds of birds and angelic singers.'⁸⁴ Indeed, the top section of the mandara shows birds and instruments aloft, the latter festooned with decorative ribbons but lacking players (Fig. 15).⁸⁵

⁷⁹ OKAZAKI (note 40), p. 53; ITO Shinji, "The Formation of *Raigō* Paintings of Amida and the Twenty-five Bodhisattvas." *Bijutsushi* 43, 1994, pp. 16-32 (English summary). KANDA (note 1, p. 47) questions the influence and considers the Taima mandara relatively inaccessible until the twelfth century.

⁸⁰ Elizabeth ten GROTENHUIS, "Rebirth of an Icon: The Taima Mandala in Medieval Japan", in *Archives of Asian Art*, 36, 1983, pp. 59-87.

⁸¹ Also GROTENHUIS (note 48), Pl. 5.

⁸² MÜLLER (note 13), p. 62.

⁸³ F. Max MÜLLER (trans.), "The Smaller Sukhâvatī-vyūha", in *Buddhist Māhāyāna Texts*, The Sacred Books of the East, New York, 1969, pp. 89-107, esp. 91-95.

⁸⁴ OKAZAKI (note 40), p. 15.

⁸⁵ They are known as '*bu gu zi ming*' (M: 5379, 3479, 6960, 4535), i.e. 'no drumming, but sounding by itself'.

Self-playing instruments were illustrated in China too, but not on other Japanese monuments. The idea came straight from *sūtras*: ‘There are also musical instruments suspended in the sky, which ... spontaneously produce tones even without a player. Each tone proclaims the virtue of Buddha’s mindfulness.’⁸⁶ In a similar vein ‘The countries through which they passed... [had] hundreds of thousands of heavenly instruments resounding by themselves.’⁸⁷

Although it has long been established that the Taima mandara gave a visual impetus to raigo paintings, its musical significance has been less recognized. Now we find instruments and orchestras on this eighth century image, and the instruments will eventually increase in numbers on raigos painted centuries later.

V. ORCHESTRAS IN A NINTH CENTURY CAVE AT DUNHUANG, CHINA

Did *any* earlier Chinese monuments show as many instruments as raigos did in the second millennium? Did instruments in the two countries differ? There are numerous Chinese images of orchestras, but I limit the analysis to cave 85 at Mogao, Dunhuang, Gansu Province.⁸⁸ The cave was built 852-857 for Zhai Farong, chief of the Buddhist community in the Hexi region east of Dunhuang. The interior is nearly quadratic (Fig. 16) with walls covered from ground to top with well-preserved scenes. At eye-level each of the north and south sides have three images of the Pure Land, labeled A,⁸⁹ B,⁹⁰ (C is omitted),⁹¹ D,⁹² E,⁹³ and F⁹⁴ here.

Paradise B has typical musical subjects (Fig. 17). Higher up are small scenes, including flying instruments without players — similar to the Taima mandara composed a century earlier. Like the Taima mandara, each of the Pure Lands has Amida and his chief Bodhisattvas in the central area. Below them are terraces with gardens and pools. In all cases but one (C), a large orchestra sits on a terrace. Each orchestra is split evenly into two sections, one on each side of a dance floor,

⁸⁶ “The Sutra on Contemplation of Amitāyus”, in Hisao INAGAKI, *The Three Pure Land Sutras* (Berkeley, 2003), pp. 73-108, esp. 83.

⁸⁷ KATŌ et al. (note 47), p. 315.

⁸⁸ To identify the instruments, one needs comprehensive views: access to the interior and permission to photograph - but both are difficult to get. Luckily, I visited cave 85 in June 2004 when it was undergoing conservation by the Getty Museum Conservation Institute, Malibu, CA, and the Dunhuang Academy. Scaffolding was in place, allowing close-up photography without parallax or other distortions. This cave is illustrated in many places, e.g., at The Mellon International Dunhuang Archive available at the web-site ‘ARTstor.’

⁸⁹ Illustrating the *Viśeṣacintabrahma-paripṛcchā sūtra*, see *Dunhuang shi ku yi shu; Mogao ku di 85 ku; fu di 196 ku (wan Tang)*, (Nanjing, 1998), esp. pp. 218, 220-1, and 223.

⁹⁰ With scenes from the *Bhaiṣajyaguru sūtra* (*The Sutra of the Buddha of Medicine*).

⁹¹ It is badly preserved and has no orchestra on a terrace but may have instruments at a higher location.

⁹² From the *Vajracchedika-prajñāpāramitā sūtra* (*The Diamond Sutra*).

⁹³ From the *Sukhāvatīvyūha sūtra* (*The Smaller Sutra on Amitāyus*).

⁹⁴ From the *Baoden sūtra* (*The Sutra on Requiring Kindness*).

but the instruments (Fig. 18) differ from orchestra to orchestra. In each orchestra the musicians sit in neat rows and wear identical cloths and hairstyle. One or two dancers are on the dance floor.

Paradise E has a pair of dancers, one playing a drum and the other a lute. The lutenist holds the instrument behind the head and gives the performance an acrobatic air. Both dancers make tall leaps, as if descending from heaven. The adoption of instruments by dancers is unique in cave 85, but other Dunhuang caves have it.⁹⁵

Since the orchestra pits are crowded, I have converted the images of the five orchestras to line drawings. This clarifies seating arrangements and choice of instruments (Figs. 19-23), but may ignore some small details of the instruments. There is a great variety of orchestra size, from the complete lack of instruments in Paradise C, to the grand ensemble of 28 instruments in Paradise B. In hindsight it is clear that cave 85 was a lucky choice. It has great variety within one room and at one time. Most of the depictions are clear enough to allow unambiguous identification of the instruments. We notice that:

- i. Most orchestras have 16 instruments, but the huge B-orchestra has 28 instruments.
- ii. There are 22 types of instruments, namely:
 - a. six types of strings: angular and arched harps, 4- and 5-stringed short-necked lute, long-necked lute, and zither.
 - b. five types of winds: end-blown pipe, transverse flute, mouth organ, pan-pipes, and conch-trumpet.
 - c. ten types of untuned percussion: small vertical cymbals, large horizontal cymbals, rattle-drum, vertical frame drum, large and small vertical hourglass drums, small vertical drum on a platform (the *jie*-drum), horizontal drum, clappers, and finger-snapping.
 - d. one tuned percussion: metallophone.
- iii. There is a pie chart under each half of the orchestra. These show that the left and right sides usually are asymmetrical: one group of instruments dominates on one side while another group

⁹⁵ E.g., a lute held behind the dancer's back in Mogao cave 112 (*Tonko Bakukokutsu; Tonko Bunbutsu Kenkyujo hen*, Vol. 4, Tokyo, 1980-1982, Fig. 54). Notice also an acrobatic mermaid (not dancing) carved on a stone medallion (inv. no. 1992.165.26a, Liang dynasty, 916-1125) in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Asian Art, New York. She holds a lute behind her head.

dominates the right side. As an example, consider Fig. 19: strings dominate the left side, winds the right side (upper level charts). Yet, with left and right sides added in the lowest pie, strings, winds, and percussion are more balanced.

iv. The orchestra in Paradise B stands out (Fig. 20). In addition to the left and right instrumental sections next to the dance floor, each has an additional percussion group seated further out on a higher platform. Both percussion groups have identical instruments, but the seating differs slightly.

VI. COMPARING THE JAPANESE AND CHINESE INSTRUMENTS WHICH APPEAR IN THIS STUDY

Clearly, many raigo instruments are patterned on Chinese models. But more precise statements can be made since the study involves a fairly large number of instruments, and a large sample exhibits relatively small statistical fluctuations. The amount ('population') of each type can then be measured with some confidence. The data contains 27 types of instruments and I parcel them into two groups:

- (1) Raigo instruments in seven cases (raigos 1-7)
- (2) Cave 85 instruments in five cases (A-B, D-F)

Instruments of each type are added for each group. The results should be normalized, but one could argue for several different approaches. Perhaps the simplest is to compensate for the larger number of cases in (1) and multiply its results with 5/7. Alternatively, one could divide each population in (1) with the total number of instruments in (1). This would give percentages of the totals. Rather than argue for a 'correct' way, I will adopt the first method and only look for trends large enough to persist even if the normalization was slightly different.

i. A three-way analysis of statistical data

Figure 24 gives the results as a histogram. The numbers along the *abscissa* identified the instrument type (with the key given in the caption), and the *ordinate* is proportional to the population. The data in groups (1) and (2) are plotted as black and gray bars.

Cave 85 contains 21 types of instruments, namely those on the left of the vertical dash-dot line. Some types have few members (e.g., arched harps, 5-stringed lute, small horizontal drum, and finger-snap), and statistical fluctuations prevent a meaningful quantitative analysis. On the other hand, pipes (no. 7) are plentiful in China, followed by clappers (no. 18) and 4-stringed short-necked lutes (no. 3).

Raigos lack some instruments present in small amounts in cave 85 (types 2, 4, 5 and 19), but show several new instruments, all placed to the right of the dash-dot line. The largest — both in physical size and popularity — is the *dadaiko* drum, which now dominate all other types. On the left side of the dash-dot line, most instruments occur in both groups but with different distributions. Pipes (no. 7) and conch trumpets (no. 11) have suffered a large decline on raigos — whereas zithers (no. 6) and *kakko*-drums (20) have been much enhanced. I believe these results are sufficiently large to survive different ways of normalizing the data.

The suppression of pipes and trumpets and the enhancement of zithers and drums can be explained as an effect of the Ode influencing the raigos. Pipes and trumpets are not mentioned in the Ode, but zithers, the *kakko*-drum and the *dadaiko*-drum are. As a result, the latter received a considerable boost in Japan.

At first sight harps seem to disobey the rule. They are mentioned in the Ode, still angular harps (no. 1) appear infrequently on raigos. However, vajra harps (25) took the place of angular harps, and if the two are added, harps lose less ground.⁹⁶ Still, harps faced a precarious existence in second millennium Japan — as they did in China. Back in the ninth century China had them, but thereafter their popularity dwindled in all of the Far East. The lack of angular harps in Japan is baffling since two harps survive in the Shōsōin Treasure House and probably were played for a while at the Japanese court. Most likely, the harps and other fine instruments were Chinese gifts to the Tōdaiji temple (Nara) at the eye-opening ceremony of 752. Japanese annals⁹⁷ contain requests by Emperors KAMMU (r. 781-806) and SAGA (r. 809-823) that Shōsōin instruments ('koto and others') be temporarily lent to the court in Kyoto.⁹⁸ But harps seem to have been viewed as symbolic, rather than musical, instrument in Japan. This aspect came to the fore when the Japanese Buddhist monk ENNIN visited China *ca.* 840 and claimed to have seen 'a silver harp [...] made of 84,000 notes, and each of the 84,000 notes cured one of the worldly passions.'⁹⁹

Considering the difference in usage noted above, there is little doubt that the Ode strongly influence the choice of instruments on Japanese raigos and other representations of the 25 Bodhisattvas.

⁹⁶ For vajra harps, see section 6.iv.

⁹⁷ *Dai Nihon Komonjo*.

⁹⁸ YONEDA Yūsuke, Chief Researcher at the Shōsōin Treasure House, private communication kindly transmitted by SUGAWARA Tomoko and CHIYONOBU Kiyoshi. He believes that the Emperors played the instruments (including harps).

⁹⁹ Edwin O. REISCHAUER, *Ennin's Diary; the Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*, New York, 1955, p. 248.

ii. Instrument present in cave 85 but absent on raigos: Conch trumpet

All five Paradise orchestras in cave 85 have a conch trumpet. There are no conches on the raigos examined here except at the very end of the tradition, on the 1604 mausoleum (Fig. 11). Nor are they mentioned in the Ode or shown on the 1690 raigo.¹⁰⁰

iii. Instrument present on raigos but absent from cave 85: Large vertical drums with aureoles

The last instrument mentioned in the Ode is the large drum (*dadaiko*, Fig. 2),¹⁰¹ and not surprisingly, it occupied the rear-position in raigo orchestras (see raigos III-IV).¹⁰² The huge size was, essentially, a Japanese innovation.¹⁰³ Most of the large drums shown here — starting with the triptych (Figs. 1 and 2) — have flaming aureoles, but not the Taima mandara (Fig. 13) from the eighth century. Apparently, the aureole was introduced between these dates.

Aureoles were also put behind Buddhist deities (cf. Amida, Fig. 4). Flames are thought to devour passion and consume desire. The huge drums look theatrical but are in line with Buddhist faith. The ‘Drum of the Great Law’ is mentioned in the Lotus sūtra.¹⁰⁴ It symbolizes the endless cycle of births and rebirths, probably because its shape resembles a wheel¹⁰⁵ — and Buddha had famously rolled the ‘wheel of the Law’ at Varāṇasī.

iv. Instrument present on raigos but absent from cave 85: Vajra harp

Vajra harps are hardly known outside Japan. They have a low, flat, and horizontal soundbox of nearly cylindrical shape. An S-shaped rod rises vertically from one end of the box, and has a *vajra* attached at the top.¹⁰⁶ Six to eight strings stretch between the rod and the box (Fig. 25b-c). Depictions of vajra harps are rather inconsistent. Strings are often missing, and the sound box is sometimes replaced by ribs that mark the outline (Fig. 25d). The Kōyasan triptych (twelfth century)

¹⁰⁰ For the latter, see note 57.

¹⁰¹ Before the Ode, in the eighth century, the Taima mandara from China has instead a medium size barrel drum at the rear of Amida’s procession (Fig. 13).

¹⁰² Similar to the *dadaiko* now placed at the rear of the imperial *gagaku* orchestra, see MALM (note 30), pls. 32, 34, 36. Its aureole is over 3 m in height.

¹⁰³ The large drums do not occur in cave 85 or in other Mogao caves renowned for musical splendor, such as nos. 112, 172, 220, and 285. Nor does Wang Jian’s tomb have it although many smaller models were common (Anne BIRRELL, “An All-Female Band from 10th Century China Stone Sculptures from the Imperial Tomb of Wang Jian”, in *Oriental Art* N.S., 39:1, 1993, pp. 25-33). However, long before the period discussed here, China had large drums (Bo LAWERGREN, “Neolithic Drums in China”, in *Studien zur Musik Archäologie* V, eds. Ellen HICKMANN, Arnd Adje BOTH, and Richardo EICHMANN, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut; Orient-Abteilung; Orient-Archäologie 20, 2006, pp. 109-127, esp. Fig 7), but they were barrel-shaped and had smaller diameter than length, see LAWERGREN (note 16), Fig. 1.

¹⁰⁴ KATŌ et al. (note 47), p. 155.

¹⁰⁵ FRÉDÉRIC (note 12), pp. 22-23.

¹⁰⁶ A vajra (C: *jingangshou*; J: *kongō-shu*, M: 1057, 3268, 5835), also known as a ‘thunderbolt-scepter,’ resembles a fork where the tines (1 to 9) curve in toward a single point. In Chinese and Japanese esoteric Buddhism it is an implement with multiple functions.

has the most functional design with a tangible sound box and C-shaped sound holes (Fig. 25b). Because of the unrealistic designs, working models may not have been available for raigo painters to copy. In contrast, instruments that existed (lutes, flutes, large drums, zithers, etc.) are well portrayed by the artists. Perhaps images of vajra harps were promulgated as ‘copies of copies,’ a process that eventually led to nonsensical instruments. I doubt vajra harps existed in the material world and believe they were imaginary.

When the vajra harp was painted on the Kōyasan raigo in the mid-twelfth century, it had already been known in Japan for more than three centuries. It first appeared on the mandara of the Diamond World (one half of the mandara of the Two Worlds) brought from China in 809 by the Japanese monk Kūkai (774-835). The harp can be found in three of the nine square fields (‘Assemblies’) of the Diamond mandara,¹⁰⁷ namely the ‘Four-Seals Assembly,’ the ‘Gōsanze-Sammaya Assembly,’ and the ‘Sammaya Assembly.’ The first shows Buddhist deities in anthropomorphic and symbolic forms, usually with vajras as prominent attributes. In the assembly’s top right corner is a vajra harp (Fig. 25a). It represents Vajragītā Bodhisattva who has a ‘subtle voice ... that never tires the hearer, being like the resonating call that brings them to an understanding of all doctrines and to the liberation of a Holy One.’¹⁰⁸ The same assembly also has a harp with strings replaced by a long vajra. The Gōsanze-Sammaya and Sammaya assemblies have a large number of vajras, some on top of harps. Clearly, this environment saturated with vajras stimulated the idea of a vajra harp. It was a religious symbol where the sound was of minor importance.¹⁰⁹

The earliest surviving polychrome copy of the Diamond World is the Saiin mandara dated 860-880 CE and located in the Kyōōgokokuji temple,¹¹⁰ Kyoto.¹¹¹ It shows the vajra harp (Fig. 25a) at the upper right corner, and its soundbox is flat with oval shape. It resembles the one drawn on the triptych raigo (Fig. 25b). The instrument is shown on a red lotus throne against a golden background, and red rays emanate from it. Vajra harps continued to be illustrated for a millennium on Japanese mandaras.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ For terminology and pictures, see GROTENHUIS (note 48), pp. 36-46, where the two assemblies are shown in Figs. 23 and 27.

¹⁰⁸ Adrian SNODGRASS, *The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas in Shingon Buddhism*, New Delhi, 1988, p. 579.

¹⁰⁹ For other examples of vajra harps illustrated on mandalas, see Susumu KASHIMA, “Depictions of Kugo Harps in Japanese Buddhist Paintings”, in *Music in Art* 24:1-2, 1999, pp. 57-67.

¹¹⁰ Popularly known as the Tōji temple. Its western sub-temple is Saiin.

¹¹¹ GROTENHUIS (note 48), p. 84. For Fig. 24a, see NAKANO Masaki, HIRATA Yutaka, and SEKIGUCHI Masayuki (eds.), *Mandara to raigōzu, Heian no kaiga, kōgei I*, Tokyo, 1991, pl. 3 (top right). Also *The Great Mandala of Tōji Temple, The Restoration of Buddhist Images, the Flower of Buddhist Beauty [Tōji no dai mandarazu; yomigaeru hotoke hana saku bi]*, Kyoto, 2004, p. 35.

¹¹² Other mandaras with vajra harps are illustrated in NAKANO Gensō, ed., *Gazō Fudō Myō-ō*, Kyoto, 1981, color plate 31 (13th century), monochrome plate 32 (13th c.), list of Buddhist iconography 48, 49, and 51 (12th c.), 52 (13th c.), 53 (8th c.), 54 (13th c.), 57 (1381), 58 (13th c.), 60, 61, and 63, (1797), and 197 (13th c.).

No copy of the Diamond World mandara has survived in China and there is no illustration of the vajra harp. But there are two pictures of related harp in Chen Yang's book *Yue Shu* from 1104.¹¹³ Instead of the vajra at the top, both have the head of a phoenix bird, and its scaly body forms the rod and soundbox (Fig. 25e). This head lies firmly in Chinese tradition — just as the vajra belongs to esoteric Japanese Buddhism. With the large box and many strings, the Chinese version seems more sensible than the vajra harp — and more likely to have been a real instrument.¹¹⁴

Raigos and Diamond World mandaras are the main sources of vajra harps, but we see them on two further types of Japanese art. One is the Taima mandara. Many copies were made and they differ slightly. The one in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco,¹¹⁵ has a vajra harp at the back of the adult orchestra's right side.¹¹⁶ Since not every copy has the vajra harp, we cannot know if the original had it.

The other type of art is a Japanese screen from the fourteenth century. It is one of a set of six large screens from Hōryūji temple¹¹⁷ that depicts 'Four Sages at *Shan-shan* and *Wen Wang* and *Lu Shang*.' Equestrian musicians play the vajra harp, the zither, the lute, the flute, the pipe, and the mouth organ. The vajra harp looks much like that on Fig. 25b, but it has seven strings and the tines of the vajra have circular shape.

v. Different placement of instruments on raigos and in cave 85

A large difference between orchestras on Japanese raigos and in China orchestras is the seating arrangement. Chinese musicians sit in straight and rigid rows, often in spaces defined by rectangular carpets. They are stationary. By contrast, raigos have them placed along gentle curves (colored brown in Figs. 1 and 5-7). The orchestra is moving toward the dying person. This arrangement was largely an indigenous development outside the mainstream Chinese way with orchestras. But it should be noted that the eight-century Taima mandara (Fig. 13), with its loose group of musicians streaming down to Earth, has a premonition of the raigo design — and it was made in China. Japanese raigo painters developed the idea much further.

It may be inappropriate to look for outside influences, but if any were to look, Indian images come to mind. Indian orchestras avoid grid positions. Prime examples are reliefs from Amarāvātī,

¹¹³ LAWERGREN (note 16), Fig. 3F.

¹¹⁴ Other foreign parallels to the vajra harp are discussed in Bo LAWERGREN, "Ancient Harps Near Dunhuang", in Neville AGNEW, ed., *Conservation of Ancient Sites on the Silk Road: Second International Conference on the Conservation of Grotto Sites*, (expected 2008).

¹¹⁵ Inv. no. B61 D11+, fourteenth or fifteenth century. It is well illustrated in Danielle and Vadime ELISSEEFF, *Art of Japan*, transl. I. Mark Paris, New York, 1985, Fig. 68.

¹¹⁶ In Fig. 14 the harp is missing, but the player has the same hand position as in the San Francisco museum.

¹¹⁷ Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Umarekawatta Hōryūji Hōmotsukan*, Tokyo: The New Gallery of Hōryūji Treasures, 1999, pp. 226-227. The dimension is 147.7 x 231.5 cm.

a site in northern India, e.g., a tondo from the second century CE.¹¹⁸ Co-regents Māndhātā and Śakra, who ruled over ‘four quarters of the globe’ and Heaven,¹¹⁹ sit in a relaxed mode on a wide couch. They are entertained by dancing and music from an orchestra with two arched harp, with 9 and 5 strings, a trumpet, a side-blown flute, and percussion. The instruments fall approximately on semi-circles centered on the couch. Influences are a matter of speculations, but it is worth noting that Japan, China, Central Asia, and India were closely connected through exchange of Buddhist imagery during the second millennium CE.¹²⁰

vi. Instruments present on raigos but absent from cave 85: large percussion sections

Orchestras on raigos tend to have larger percentage of percussion than in cave 85. Although such a high percentage can be found in cave 85, it is rare. But the increased percussion component may not necessarily be a Japanese phenomenon. It could also be due to the later date of Japanese raigos, at least two centuries after cave 85, and at that late date China may have developed equally high percentages. The best-known example of a late Chinese orchestra is in Wang Jian’s tomb made in 920.¹²¹ It has 23 instruments cut in high relief with elaborate details. Beside the usual instruments, there is also a conch trumpet and leaf whistle, instruments that reappeared seven centuries later on the Matsudaira mausoleum. Wang Jian’s tomb has 62% percussion. In other words, orchestras with large percussion sections were not unique to Japan.

VII. COMPOSITION AND SIZE OF ENSEMBLES

Raigo paintings provide a rich source on the musical instruments of the Japanese Middle Ages. Individual instruments are shown in detail, and groupings are clear. There are 22 distinct types of instruments — not counting various sizes of each type (Figs. 1-11), and they are always combined into ensembles (or orchestras). The size varies between 11 and 28 instruments, and 14 is the most frequent number.

To put the instruments in perspective, five complete Chinese orchestras were brought into the picture. All come from cave 85, a ninth-century monument from western China. The Japanese and Chinese sets largely overlap, indicating that raigo instruments hark back to the Chinese models depicted several centuries earlier. Most likely, the Japanese instruments were part of the extensive importation of Buddhist culture which began in the sixth century. Many of the

¹¹⁸ Robert KNOX, *Amaravati; Buddhist sculpture from the Great Stūpa*, London, 1992, pp. 74-78; Walter KAUFMANN, *Altindien*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern 2:8, Leipzig, 1981, pp. 90-105.

¹¹⁹ E.B. COWELL, ed., *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha’s Former Births*, 2, London, 1957, reprint of 1895 edition, pp. 216-218.

¹²⁰ For example, see discussion in LEIDY and THURMAN (note 39), pp. 21-31.

¹²¹ Located near Chengdu, Sichuan Province, see BIRRELL (note 103), pp. 25-33.

Mahāyāna sutras originated in regions west of China and they drew attention to instruments of that region. As Buddhism spread to the Far East, it created a demand for such western instruments. In addition, secular Central Asian ensembles had been appreciated in the Chinese capital since, at least, the sixth century, and that could hardly have failed to impress Japanese visitors.

In size, too, the raigo groups resembled those in China. The five ensembles in cave 85 have 16, 16, 17, 20, and 28 instruments.

But the lay-out differed. Symmetry ruled the ensembles in cave 85 and musicians sat in rigid rows on either side of a dance floor. In raigos the placement is relaxed, and the musicians take their place along gently curving arcs. The Japanese and Chinese orchestras present two different visual impressions, and it is tempting to extend the notion to the musical sphere.

Continuing with the lay-out, we notice a more subtle aspect. In raigo paintings instruments from the same family (strings, winds, or percussion) tend to cluster together. Complete homogeneity is avoided, for a few ‘foreign’ instruments are allowed in the proximity. Figure 1 illustrates the effect: the right section contains all the string instruments — but also a drum. These narrow clusters are spread across the whole orchestra, rather like different condiments in a fruit-and-nut cake. Viewed as a whole, the orchestra is heterogeneous.

The same trend influences the seating arrangements in cave 85, and this is seen most clearly on the pie-diagrams. Figure 23 shows winds dominating on the left side, strings on the right side, but neither side is completely homogeneous. With both sides combined, there is thorough heterogeneity, and each of the groups (strings, winds, and percussion) has the same share.

To clarify the images, I have included 250 line drawings. The great profusion of instruments, ensemble combinations, and seating arrangements, may be analyzed in various ways. I start by comparing the populations of the four categories of instruments (strings, winds, untuned percussion, and tuned percussion) in different cases. On raigos the percussion group (combining tuned and untuned ones) is at least 50%, and the wind and string sections divide the rest equally. Cave 85 has slightly different distributions. Three of its five orchestras have equal populations of strings, winds, and percussion, but in two orchestras the percussion is around 50%. The difference may depend on date rather than place: cave 85 was painted relatively early (mid-ninth century), and three centuries later when raigos were produced in Japan, Chinese orchestras may have had equally dominant percussion sections. Whatever the case, large percussion sections are unusual by modern standards.

It is unclear if the images represent ensembles that could have existed in the physical world or if they were purely imaginary.¹²² Considering the tendency of texts and images to place music in Paradise, one might go for the latter alternative. But instruments and ensembles look perfectly

¹²² As discussed, vajra harps were purely symbolic instruments.

real both on raigos and in cave 85, and there is cause for doubts. In fact, similar ensembles were present at the Chinese capital Chang'an — and these were both real and highly praised. Chinese annals of the Sui and Tang dynasties¹²³ document orchestras from India, Korea, Kucha (Xinjiang Autonomous Region), Bukhara, Samarkand, Kashgar, Gaochang (near Turfan, Xinjiang), Xiliang (near Wuwei, Gansu Province), and two local bands. The choice of instruments, and numbers of instruments (between 9 and 23), varies from region to region. What is characteristic of the ensembles on raigos and in cave 85 — about 15 instruments with a sizable percussion section and strings and winds sharing equally — is also found on the band from Kucha. It had 19 instruments, 52% was percussion, and strings and winds shared the remainder equally. With its harp, zither, two lutes, mouth-organ, flute, pipe, panpipe, cymbals, and 8 drums it resembles the groups in Figs. 7, 9, or 22.¹²⁴ Other ensembles at Chang'an do not match as well. Either they have too few instruments, or the percussion section is too small. Given the fame of Kucha musicians,¹²⁵ their orchestra may well have become the model to emulate on religious art. In addition, it would have been eminently suited to music-making both in China and Japan. Greatly slimmed-down versions are still played at the Taimadera temple in Kyoto.¹²⁶

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¹²³ *Suishu, Jiu Tangshu, Tang huiyao*, and *Tang liudian*. Maurice COURANT [in «Chine et Corée, essai historique sur la musique classique des chinoise, avec un appendice relatif à la musique coréenne», pp. 77-211, in Albert LAVIGNAC (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, 1:5, Paris, 1913] discusses the texts and gives a partial French translation. A more detailed account was tabulated by Falu YIN, *Tang Song da qu zhi lai yuan ji qi zhi*, Beijing, 1948, esp. pp. 9-11. The inventory of the Kucha orchestra is translated in Mau-Tsai LIU, «Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. v. bis zum 6. Jh. n. Chr.», in *Asiatische Forschungen* 27, 1969, pp. 3-307, esp. p. 206.

¹²⁴ The Kucha band also included a conch trumpet. It was common in cave 85 but almost absent on raigos.

¹²⁵ LIU (note 123), pp. 99-108 and 201-209; Jane Gaston MAHLER (*The Westerners among the Figurines of the T'ang Dynasty of China*, Serie orientale Roma XX, Rome 1959, esp. p. 52) gives two photographs of female figurines labeled “Musicians and Dancers from Kuchā.” Plate XIII has seven musicians and four dancers; pl. XIV twelve musicians — an unusually high number for pottery figurine. However, both groups are ‘unexcavated’ and one cannot know if pieces are missing. This make unexcavated groups useless for our purposes.

¹²⁶ Monica DIX, “The *Mukaekō* Ritual at Taimadera: A Living Tradition of Medieval Japanese Pure Land Buddhism”, in *Illumine, The Journal of the Centre for Studies in Religion and Society Graduate Student Association* 2:1, 2003, pp. 17-24, esp. Fig. 1.

APPENDIX

Table 1

Line (in Ode)	1 Ode of Pseudo- Genshin (ca. 1250)	2 Raigo V (ca. 1380)	3 25 Bodhisattvas (ca. 1450)	4 25 Bodhisattvas (ca. 1690) (from Tosa, note 53)
6	'garland'	rattle drum & drum ^a	hourglass drum ^b	flower garland
7	'taps out edification'	hourglass drum	rattle drum & drum	clapper
9	hourglass drum	dancer	dancer	<i>kakko</i> -drum
10	mouth organ	mouth organ	mouth organ	mouth organ
11	flute	flute	flute	flute
12	zither	panpipes	panpipes	zither (short)
13	<i>koto</i>	<i>koto</i>	<i>koto</i>	<i>koto</i> (long)
14	lute	(no cartouch)	lute	lute
15	harp	(no cartouch)	(vajra) harp	(vajra) harp
16	C: <i>ji</i> J: <i>kei</i>	gong ^c	lithophone ^d	metallophone ^e
17	gong	metallophone	gong	cymbals
18	rattle-drum	shoulder drum ^f	shoulder drum	rattle-drum
19	C: <i>jie</i> -drum J: <i>kakko</i> -drum	(no cartouch)	<i>kakko</i> -drum ^g	gong
20	flowers	metallophone	metallophone	flowers
21	large drum	large drum ^h	large drum	large drum

a. The player's right hand beats on the top of a small barrel drum lashed with horizontal heads and hanging in a strap around the neck. His left hand twirls a rattle-drum.

b. A hourglass drum with narrow body. It hangs from a strap around the neck and is beaten by sticks in both hands.

c. C: *zheng*; J: *shōko*. M: 354. A circular gong hangs in an aureole-like frame mounted on top of a narrow rod attached to a foot resting on a circular table. It is played with two hammers.

d. C: *qing*; J: *kei*. M: 1164.

e. C: *fangxiang*, J: *hōkyō*. M: 1802, 2559. Several rows of rectangular metal jingles rest softly on horizontal slat mounted in a frame. The tuned jingles are struck with two hammers.

f. A dual membrane cylinder drum pressed against the shoulder by the left hand and tapped by the index finger of the right hand. The *kotsuzumi* drum used in the Noh theater contains a drum held in the same manner, but it is a hourglass drum, see MALM (note 27), Figs. 41-44; also William P. MALM, *Six hidden views of Japanese music*, Berkeley, 1986, pp. 6-18.

g. A small drum with two lashed heads made of deer-skin. Its cylindrical body rests on a low stand which cradles its horizontal cylindrical body; it is played with a mallet at each end.

h. Large drum with vertical heads played with two large mallets. It is surrounded by a flaming frame.

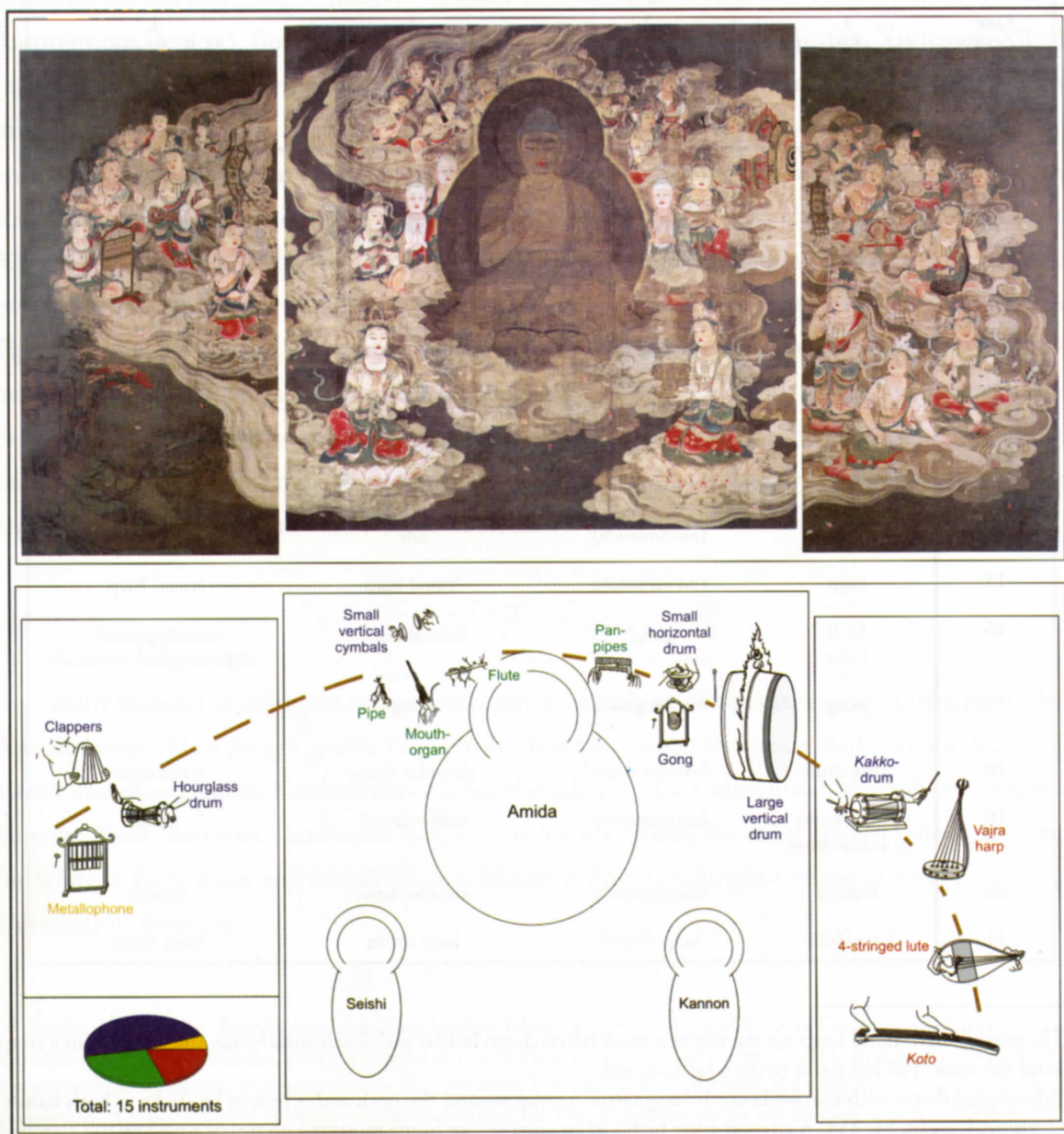


Fig. 1: Top: Triptych raigo from Kōyasan, Japan, 1150-1180 A.D. (photo courtesy of Reihōkan Museum). Bottom: Location of instruments. The pie-chart shows fractions of string instruments (red color), winds (green), untuned percussion (blue), and tuned percussion (yellow).



Fig. 2: The large drum framed in an aureole in Fig. 1 (photo courtesy of Reihōkan Museum).



Fig. 3: Vajra harp in Fig. 1 (photo courtesy of Reihōkan Museum).

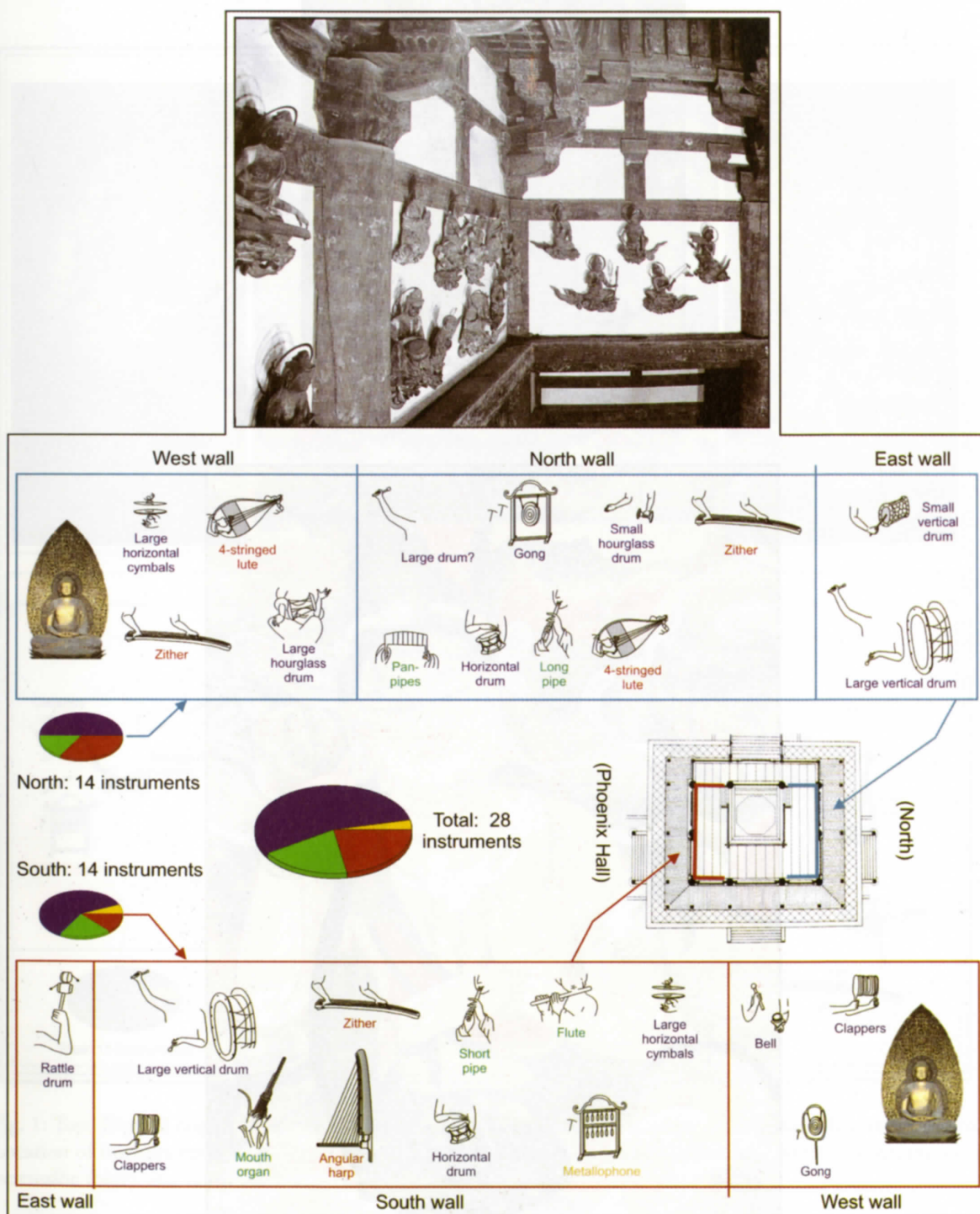


Fig. 4: Sculpted musicians in the Phoenix hall, Byōdōin temple, 1053. a. View of southern and western walls. b. Spatial distribution of the instruments.

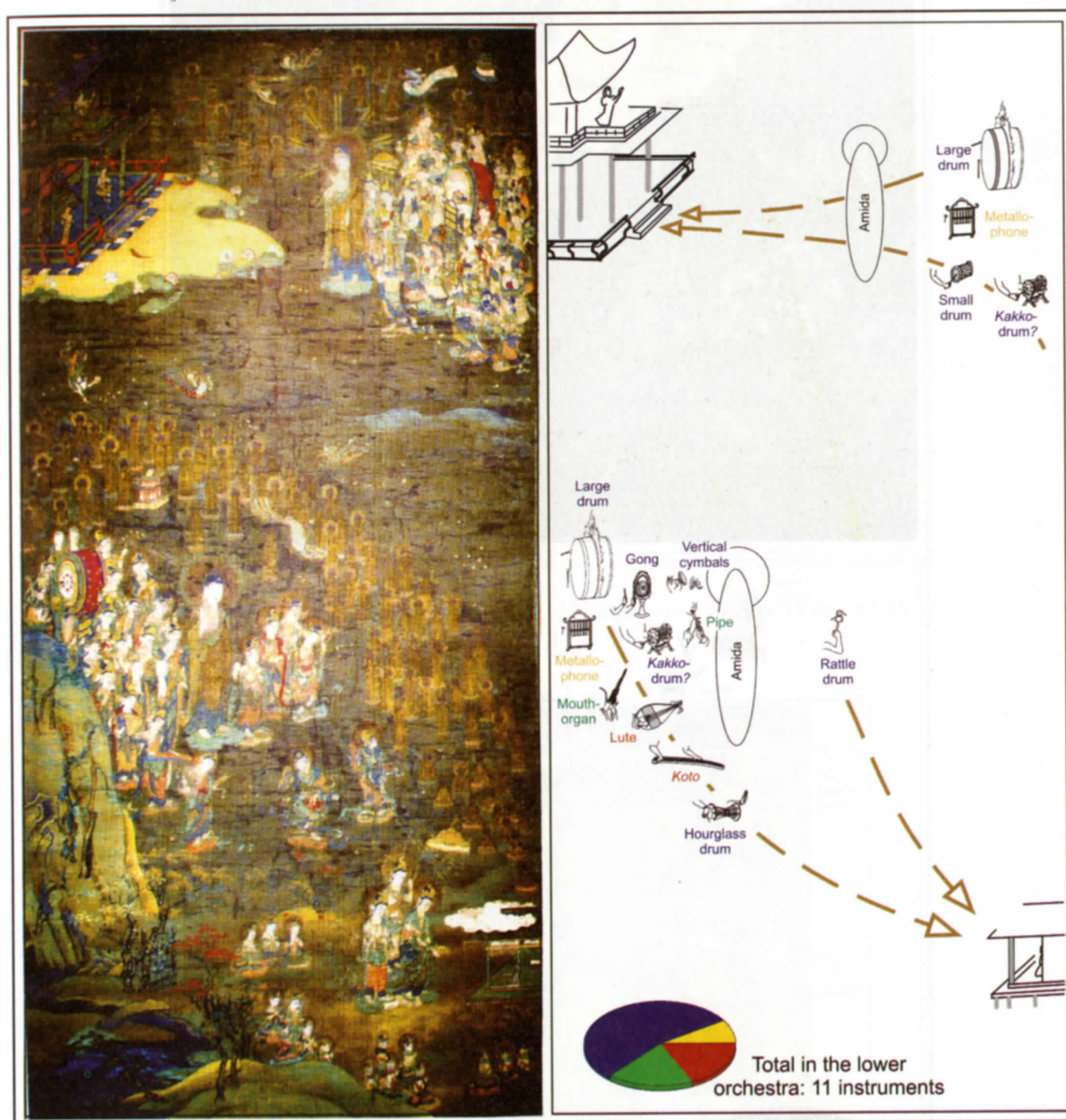


Fig. 5: Raigo of the 'descend-and-ascend' type, early 14th century. Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA), inv. no. 1975.268.21 (photo: author). Amida receiving the soul of KUMAGAI Naozane, the 13th-century warrior-monk mentioned in the Tale of Heike.



Fig. 6: Raigo of the 'rapid-descent' type in Chionin temple, Kyoto, 14th century.

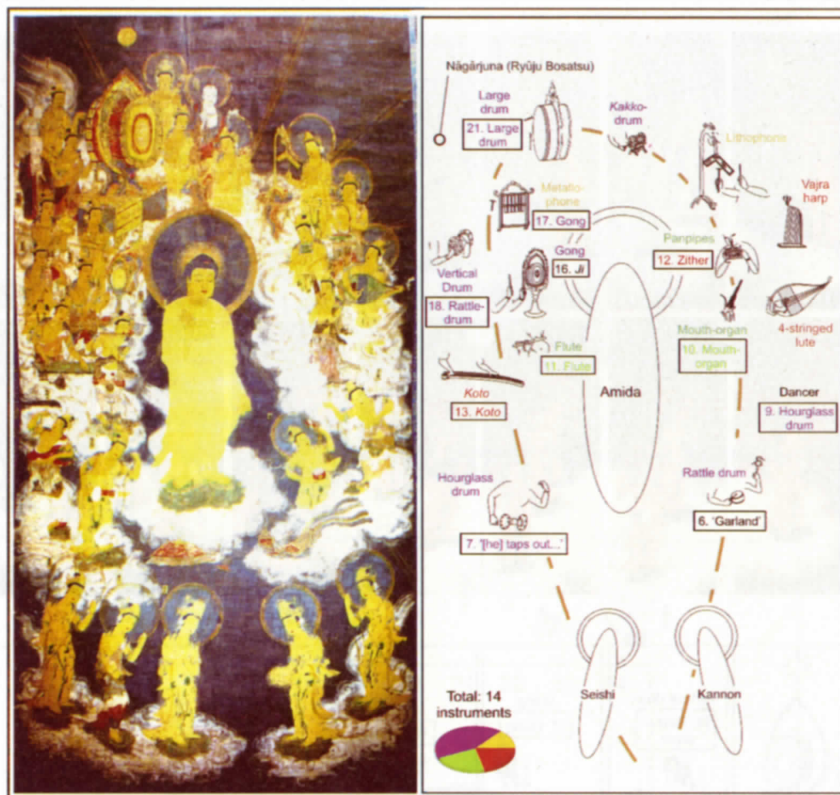


Fig. 7: Raigo with cartouches, ca. 1300. Metropolitan Museum of Art 42.25.37 (photo: author).

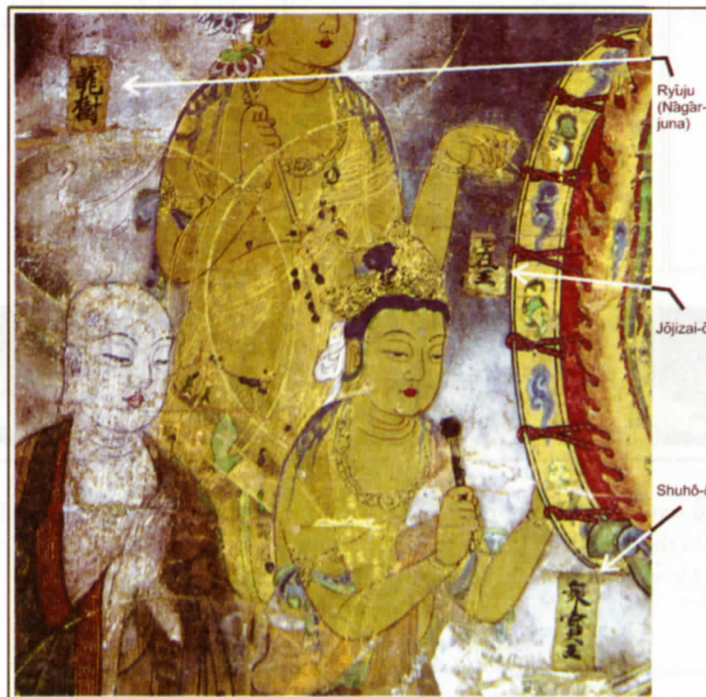


Fig. 8: Some cartouches on the raigo in Fig. 7.

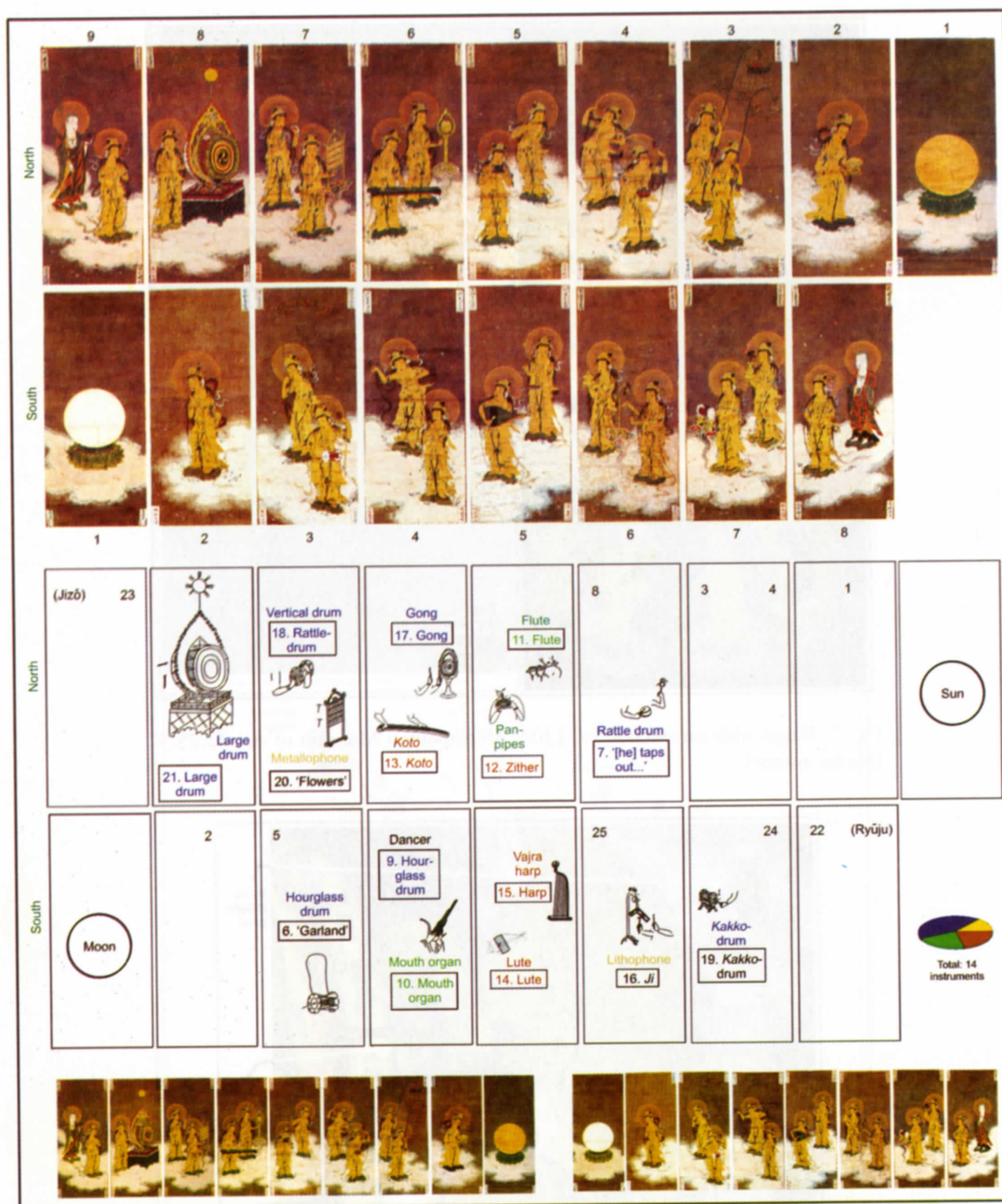


Fig. 9: Seventeen painted scrolls in the Nisonin temple, Kyoto, 16th century. Each scroll is 89 x 38 cm. The white numbers refer to the line in the ode which has the depicted Bodhisattva. The number inside each small black rectangle refers to the line of the Ode which mentions the name of the depicted Bodhisattva.



Fig. 10: The Matsudaira mausolea in Okunoin cemetery, Kōyasan. 1604 and 1607. Left: View from the back. Right: Wall relief at the position marked 23 and 24 in Fig. 11.

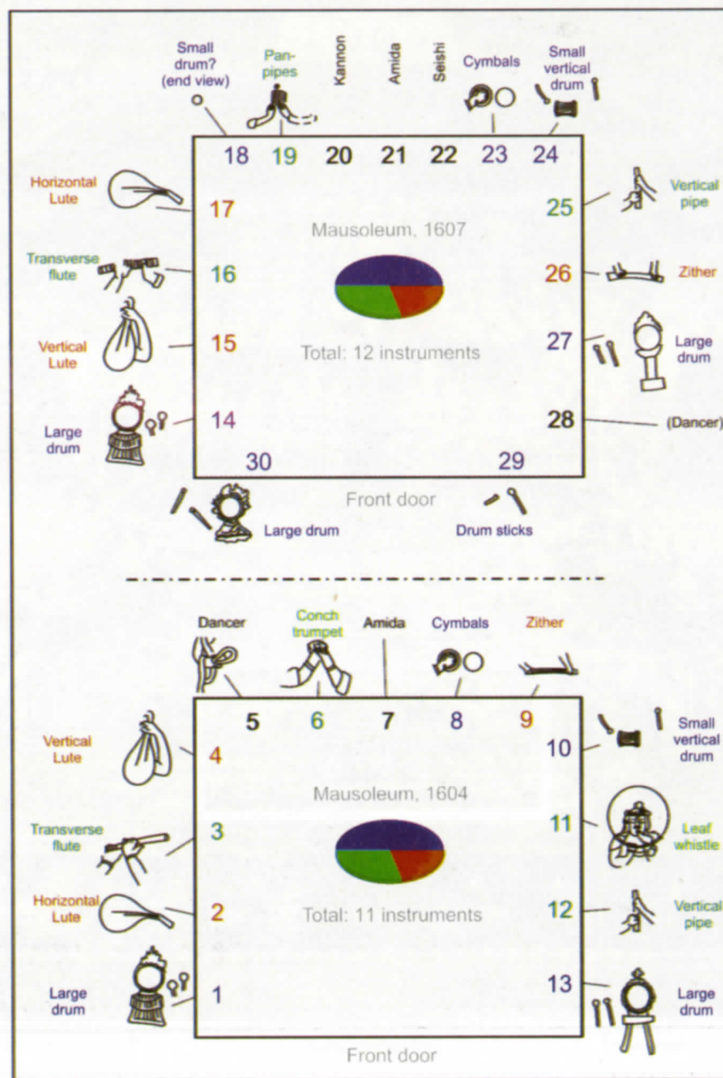


Fig. 11: Line drawing of the instruments on the mausolea. Beside the instrumentals given, there are also Bodhisattvas without instruments.



Fig. 12: Taima mandala MMA 57.156.6. Thirteenth century. See Fig. 14 for details in the black rectangle.



Fig. 13: Lower right corner of Fig. 12. The scene is *ca.* 7 x 6 cm.

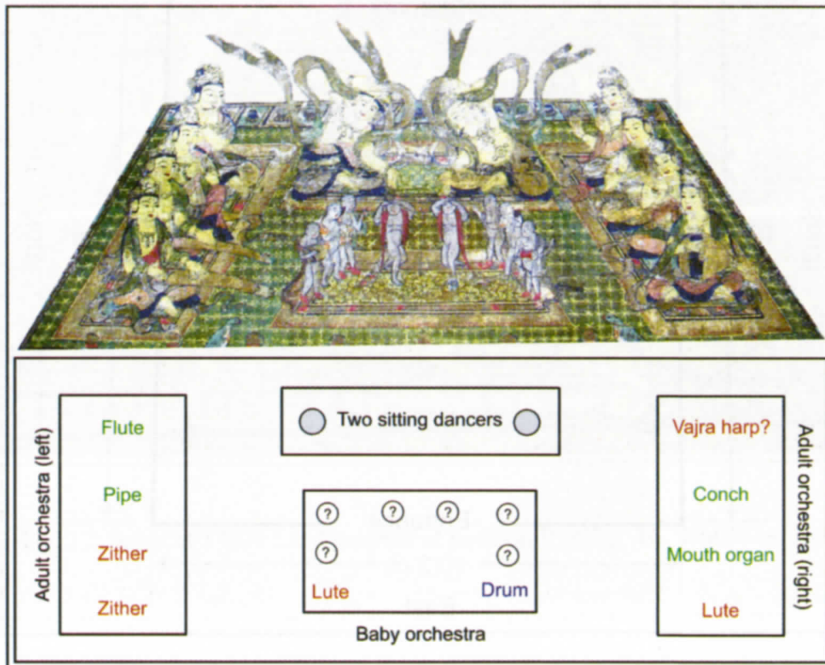


Fig. 14: Enlargement of the black rectangle in Fig. 12. It shows an adult orchestra, re-born beings with red socks, and two sitting dancers. The scene is *ca.* 12 cm wide.



Fig. 15: Some flying instruments shown in the upper section of Fig. 12. Lower left: cymbals; Upper middle: a pipe; Upper right: a zither. In addition, there are flowers and a party of four Bodhisattvas.

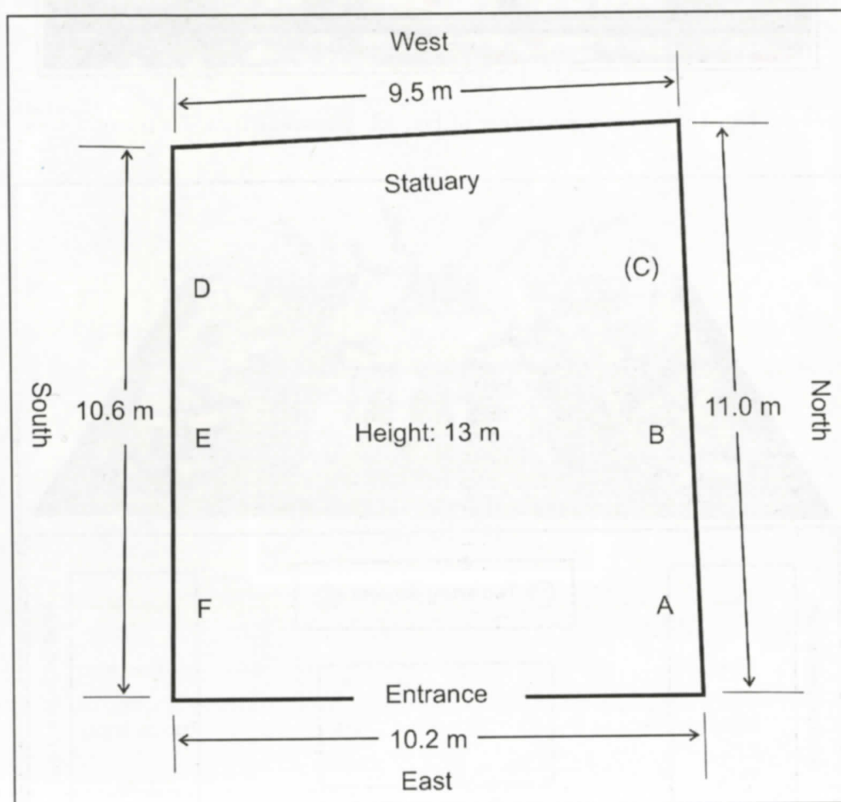


Fig. 16: Ground plan of cave 85, Dunhuang, Gansu province, China. Built 852 to 857. The walls are painted with images of the Pure Land paradise at location A-F. All but paradise C have orchestras.



Fig. 17: Scene of a Pure Land paradise at position B in Fig. 16. Width: *ca.* 3 cm.

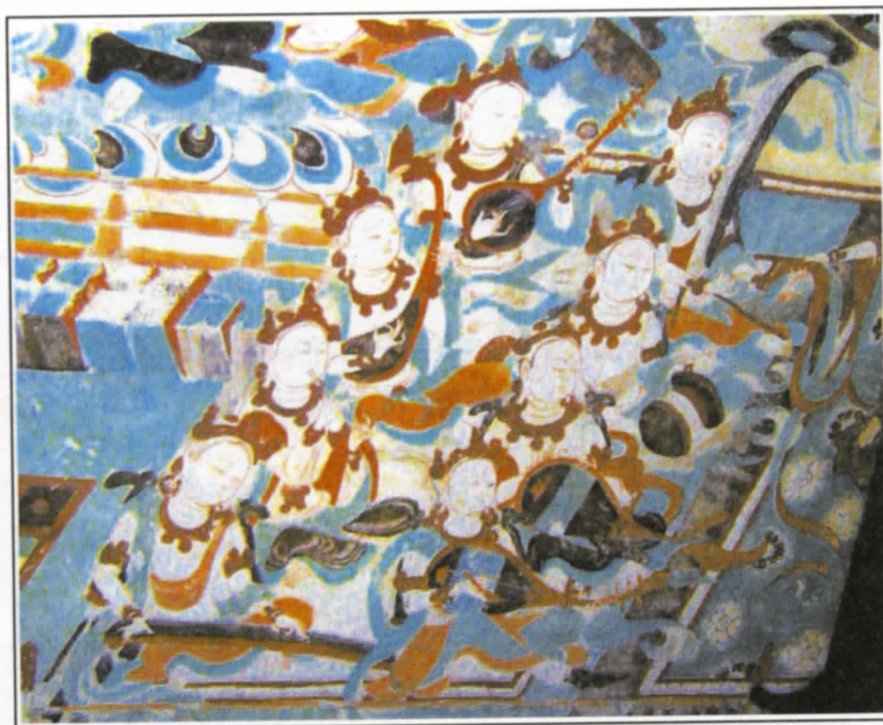


Fig. 18: Left-side of the ensemble at position A in Fig. 16 (photo: author).

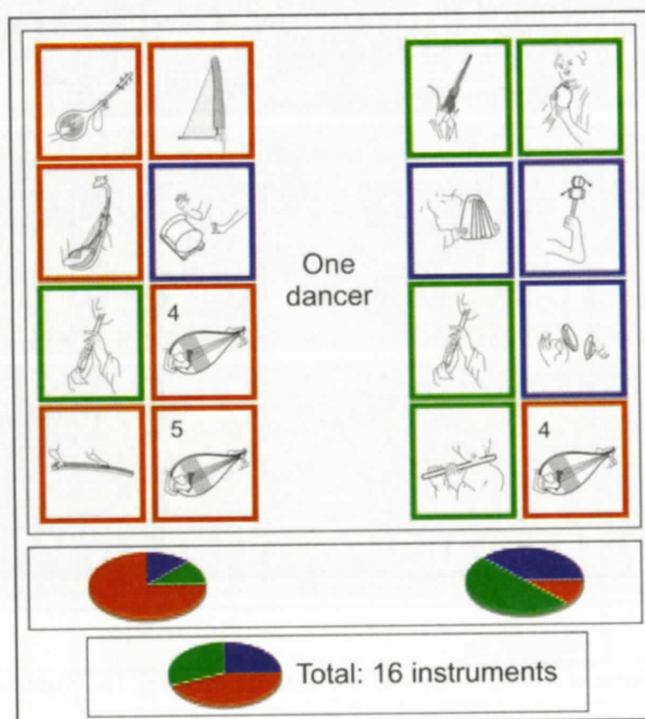


Fig. 19: Complete ensemble at position A. Numbers 4 and 5 designate the number strings on the lute. Below the left and right sections of the orchestra are pie-charts summarizing the instruments present. Both sections are combined in the lowest pie-chart.

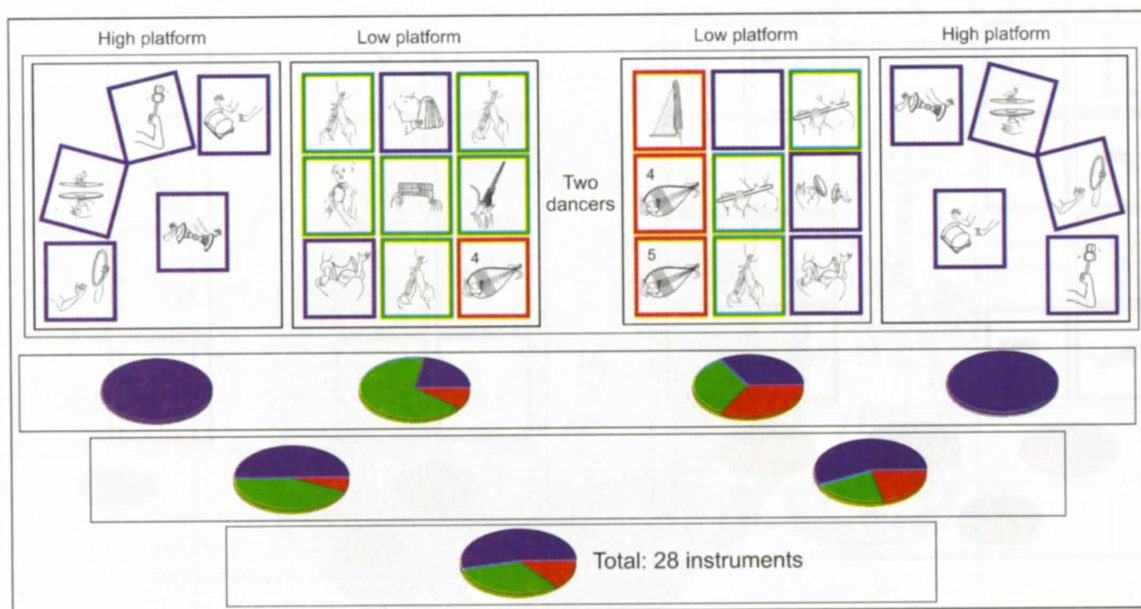


Fig. 20: Ensemble B. Numbers 4 and 5 at lutes refer to the number of strings.

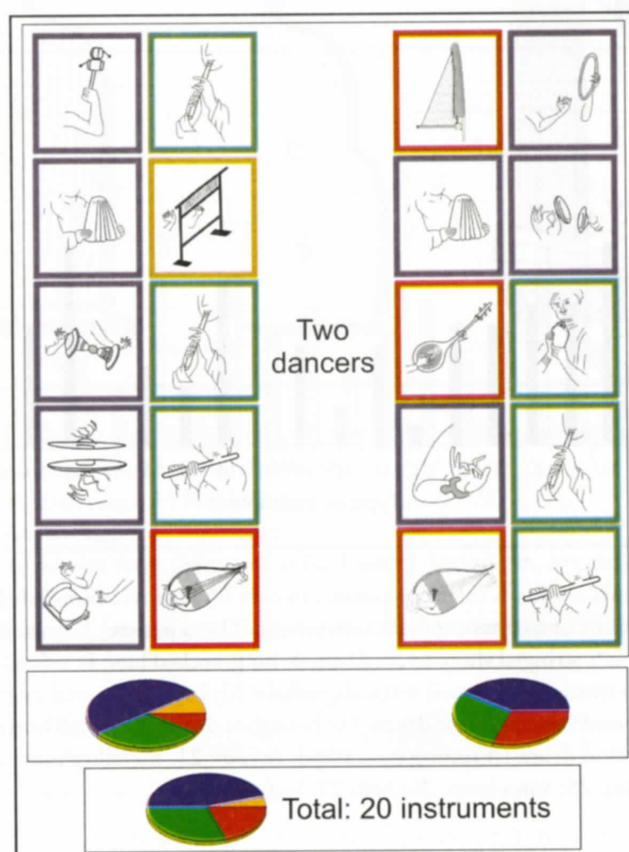


Fig. 21: Ensemble D.

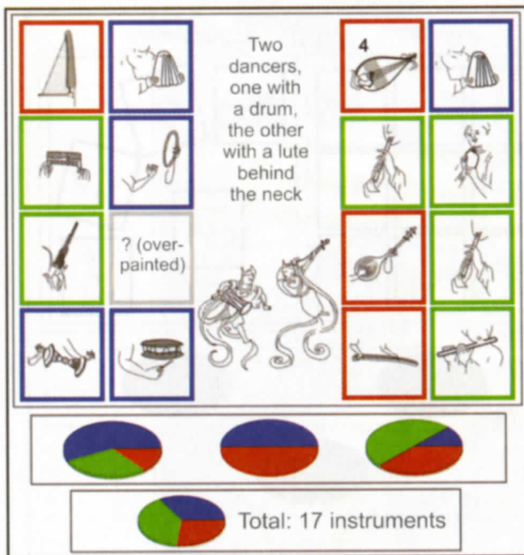


Fig. 22: Ensemble E.

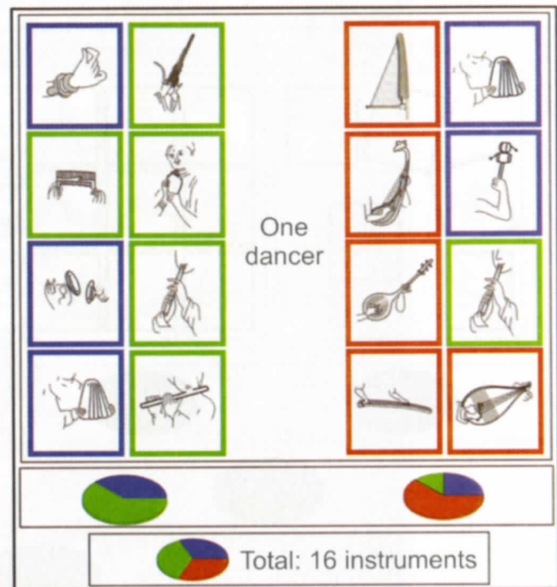


Fig. 23: Ensemble F.

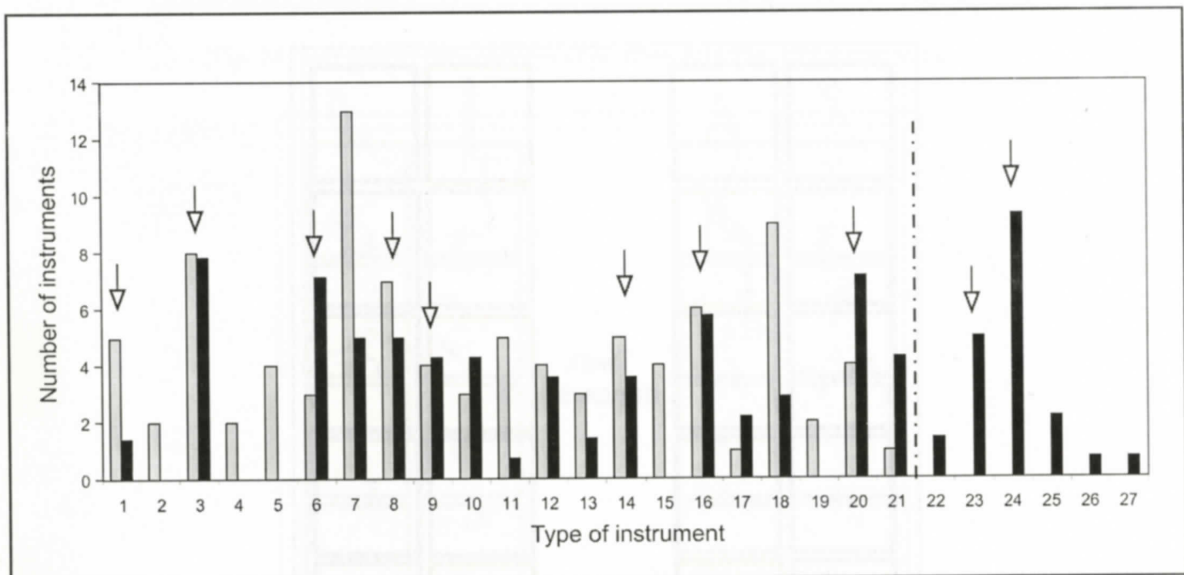


Fig. 24: Comparing instruments on raigos (black columns), in cave 85 (gray columns) and in the Ode (arrows). The vertical axis expresses the amount of a certain type of instrument. The types are: 1: angular harp; 2: arched harp; 3: 4-stringed short-necked lute; 4: 5-stringed short-necked lute; 5: long-necked lute; 6: zither; 7: pipe; 8: flute; 9: mouth organ; 10: panpipe; 11: conch trumpet; 12: small vertical cymbals; 13: large horizontal cymbals; 14: rattle-drum with small horizontal drum; 15: round vertical frame drum; 16: hourglass drum; 17: small horizontal drum; 18: clappers; 19: finger snap; 20: small vertical drum (if resting on a stand: *kakko*); 21: metallophone; 22: lithophone; 23: gong; 24: big vertical drum (*dodaiko*); 25: vajra harp; 26: bell; 27: leaf whistle.

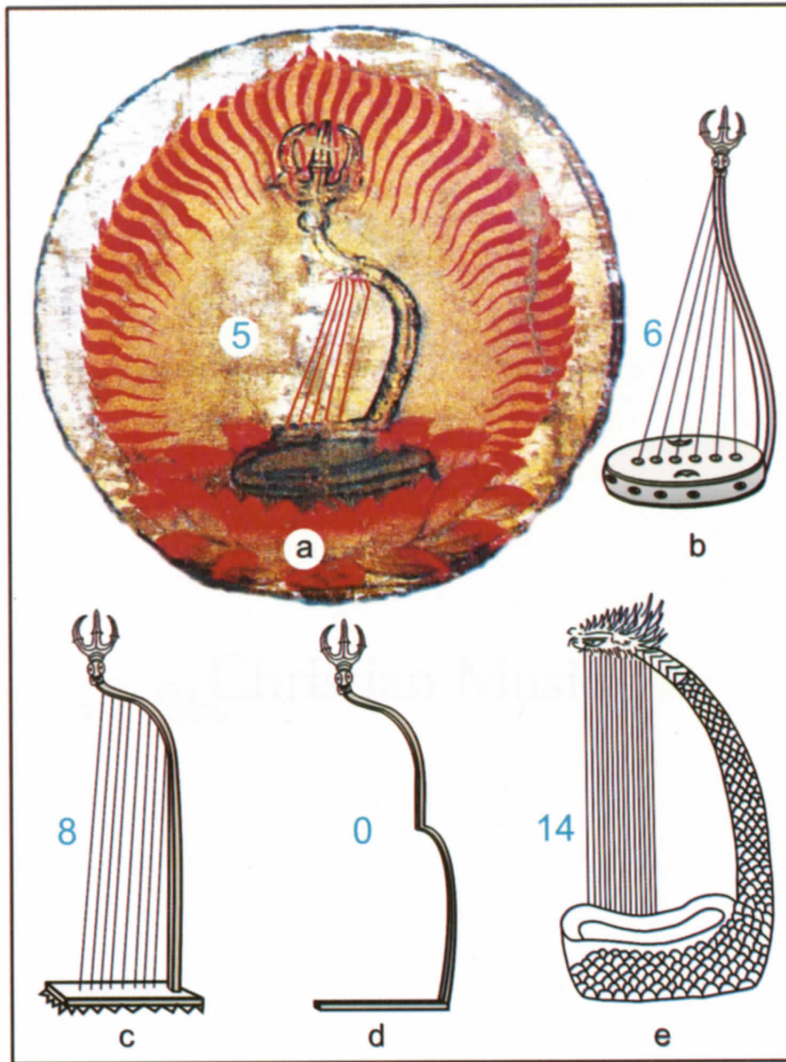


Fig. 25: Vajra harps. The figures give the number of illustrated strings.
 a. Diamond World mandara 860-880;
 b. Kōyasan raigo, 1150-1180;
 c. Nisonin raigo, 15th century;
 d. Stockholm raigo (Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Inv. no. ÖM 1988-27), 14th-16th century;
 e. Central China (Chen Yang, *Yueshu*, see LAWERGREN 1995/96, Fig. 3F), 1104.

Christian Music

Russian Liturgical Chant Books from the 11th-14th Centuries and their Function in Liturgical Practice

*Svetlana Poliakova**

The 11th to 14th centuries were a time during which the Orthodox liturgical tradition of the Byzantine rite was received and assimilated. The corpus of books, their organization, the kinds of notational system in the chant books, and other aspects, linked to liturgical chant, in general display homogeneity. From the second half of the 14th century onwards, and definitively from the 15th century, there may be seen a well visible transition to a different period of chant and liturgical organization, which ended with the formation of the national system, unique and unmistakable.

The boundary between the two periods has its origins in various factors, not all of which are well understood scientifically at present. However, one of these factors is indisputable, and has to do with the change from the Studite liturgical system to that of the Jerusalem Typikon, which began in the second half of the 14th century. The replacement of one system with another took some time, and the two systems coexisted and, at times, competed, for some centuries.

It is probable that a similar situation obtained at the earliest period of liturgical celebration in Russia. During the time of the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius, Russia underwent the influences of two Christian Churches, of the West and of the East. Though the oldest surviving parchment manuscripts, written in Old Slavonic, belong to the end of the 10th century-mid-11th century, they probably testify to the liturgical practices of both traditions of the period preceding the official conversion of Russia. Amongst these books are found, for example, a number of Gospels written in Cyrillic (the Ostromir Gospel¹ and the Kyprianovskie Listki² contain ecphonetic notation) together with the Missal from the end of the 10th century-first half of the 11th century, “Kievskie Glagolicheskie listki”,³ in Glagolitic.

The liturgical tradition of the East, which was entering Russia at this time, supposedly came in two different waves: one came directly from Byzantium, the other resulted from the Southern Slavic assimilation of the Byzantine rite. The Southern Slavic influences even continued as far as

* I should like to acknowledge the help of Ivan Moody in the preparation of this article.

¹ RNB (Russian National Library, St. Petersburg), Ф.п.1.5.; SK - *Svodny Katalog slavyano-russkikh rukopisnykh knig, khranyashchikssya v SSSR. 11-13 vv. (Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. 11-13 вв. [Catalogue of Slavic-Russian Manuscripts Preserved in the USSR, 11th-13th centuries])* Moscovo, 1984, n° 3, p. 33.

² RNB, Ф.п.1.58.; SK, n° 12, p. 53.

³ Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Republic, ДА/П.328; SK n. 1, p. 27.

the period of the first translation/redaction⁴ of the liturgical books in Russia in the second half of the 11th century.⁵ A number of Russian scholars have detected the traces of Southern Slavic orthography, and similarities in some passages to texts in Russian and Southern Slavic *Menaia*, a fact which permits the supposition of the possibility of the use of these Southern-Slavic books as the source of the translation or redaction of Russian books.⁶

Liturgical celebrations during the period before the official conversion may have taken place at the residence of convert princes; in this case it is more probable that the rite followed corresponded with that of the celebrations of the city courts of Byzantium, with certain limitations, which implied influences from the rite of the Byzantine cathedrals. With the development of monasticism in the main cities, such as Kiev, Vladimir, Rostov, Novgorod, after the official conversion, it became necessary to formulate a rule, which respected the connection between celebrations in the city cathedrals and monasteries. This rule was set out in the Studite Typikon in the redaction of Patriarch Alexis, and was in effect for the liturgical system in Russia from the 11th to the 14th (at some places until the 15th and 16th) centuries.

In the Russian manuscript tradition, six complete copies of the Studite Typikon survived, written in the period between the end of the 11th century and the 16th century, and some fragments from the 12th-14th century. These copies were directly connected to liturgical practice, and preserved its variations. Each of the nine redactions, as with the Byzantine and South Italian examples, or those from Mount Athos, provides a particular local version of the monastic or cathedral service, displaying different levels and different qualities in the interconnections between the two practices, cathedral and monastic.

Corresponding to the various redactions of the Studite Typikon, the Russian liturgical chant books from the relevant period also reflect different liturgical practices.

The versions closest to the celebrations according to the rite of the Great Church of Agia Sophia of Constantinople are a small group of Kontakaria, which give the Slavonic version of the

⁴ A. M. PENTKOVSKY, *Tipikon patriarca Aleksiya Studita v Vizantii i na Rusi* (A. M. Пентковский, *Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси* [*The Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites in Byzantium and Russia*]), Moscow, 2001, p. 158.

⁵ The second wave of Southern Slavic influence is dated by philologists to the 14th century: V. A. MOSHIN: "O periodizatsii rusko-yuzhnoslavyanskikh literaturnykh svyazey X-XV vv." (В. А. Мошин, «О периодизации русско-южнославянских литературных связей X-XV вв.») ["On the periodization of Russian-Slavic literary connections in the 10th-15th centuries."], in *Rus' i yuzhnyye slavyane* (Русь и южные славяне), St. Petersburg, 1998, p. 9.

⁶ I. V. IAGICH: *Sluzhebnye minei za sentyabr', oktyabr', noyabr'. V tserkovno-slavyanskom perevode po russkim rukopisyam 1095-1097 gg.* [И. В. Ягич: *Служебные минеи за сентябрь, октябрь, ноябрь. В церковно-славянском переводе по русским рукописям 1095-1097 гг.* (*Service Menaia for September, October, November; In the Church Slavonic translation in Russian manuscripts of 1095-1097*)], St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. CXVI-CXXIV.

Byzantine Asmatikon. Six of them⁷ have survived, and the oldest is from the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century, being, therefore, more than a century older than comparable books surviving from Byzantium. The main notation of the Russian Kontakaria, though having Byzantine roots, is not precisely similar to any kind of notation. In Russian books it is used principally for the repertory of the Asmatikon.

Some characteristics of the Russian Kontakaria, such as the generic roots of the book, the presence in them of hymns from the *asmatike akolouthia*, the type of notation, the probable melodic style, are close to the Russian Kontakaria for the cathedral rite. However, there are a number of points that allow one to hypothesize the use of these books within the liturgical system of the Studite Typikon.

Firstly, the oldest manuscript of a Kontakarion is the second complete part of a liturgical book. The first part of the book (known as the *Tipografsky Ustav s Kondakarem*)⁸ is a copy of the Studite Typikon, which, although it contains some rubrics from celebrations according to the cathedral rite, would seem to have belonged to a monastery.⁹ Some surviving Kontakaria include genres which are part of the monastic rite — some parts of the Octoechos chant, the stichera on the Litia¹⁰ in the *Tipograf* Kontakarion, photogogika and Gospel stichera in the *Blagoveschensky* Kontakarion and in the Kontakarion fragment in the Russian National Library¹¹ and some other chants. In addition, the genre of the kontakion itself belongs to both liturgical traditions.

Secondly, a further element of the Kontakaria that leads one to suppose that these books may have been used monastically is the notation. As well as the main type of notation — *Kondakarian* — the *Tipografsky* and *Blagoveschensky* Kontakaria contain *Znamenny* notation (for example, in the aforementioned photagogika and Gospel stichera in the *Blagoveschensky* Kontakarion), the main notation in hundreds of Russian liturgical books from the 11th-14th centuries, belonging to the monastic rite. On the other hand, amongst these one finds, although very rarely, fragments with *Kondakarian* notation. Three of these books belong to the 12th century and three to the 13th.¹²

⁷ Three of them have been published as: *Contacarium Paleoslavicum Mosquense*, MMB, Série principale (Facsimilés), VI, ed. A. BUGGE, Copenhagen, 1960; *Der altrussische Kondakar: Auf der Grundlage des Blagoveshchensky Nizhegorodsky Kondakar*, Tomus II: *Blagoveshchensky Kondakar* (facsimile). Herausgegeben von Antonin DOSTAL und Hans ROTHE unter Mitarbeit von Erich TRAPP, Wilhelm Schmitz, Giessen, 1976, and *The Lavrsky Troitsky Kondakar*, Monumenta Slavico-Byzantina et Mediaevalia europensia, Vol. IV, Ivan Dujcev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, compiled by Gregory MYERS, Sofia, 1994.

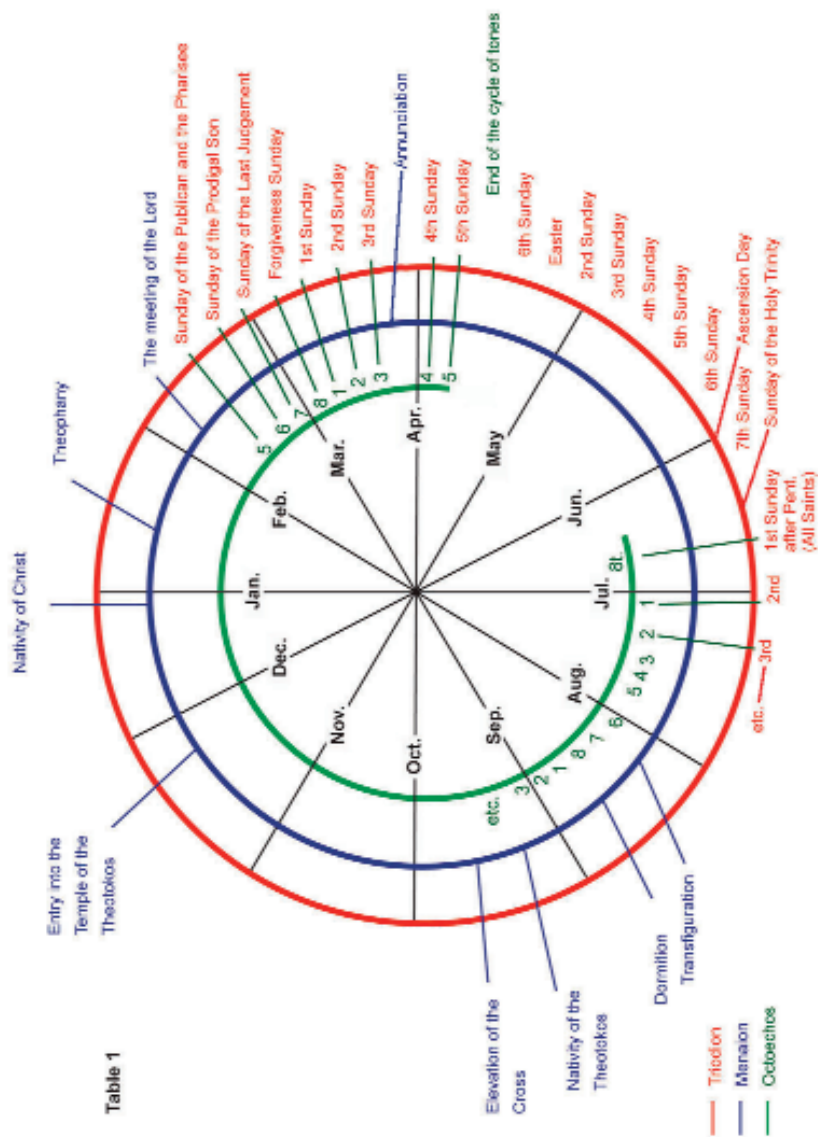
⁸ National Tretiakov Gallery (Moscow), K-5349. A facsimile and study of this manuscript are currently being published in Moscow.

⁹ PENTKOVSKY, p. 186.

¹⁰ PENTKOVSKY, p. 186.

¹¹ RNB, Pogod. 43, ff. 38r.-39v., SK, p. 151.

¹² SK, n° 54, 94, 98, 219, 284 and 303.



Thirdly, the possibility of the Kontakaria having been used in monasteries also indicates that the translation and redaction of these books must have been carried out in the third quarter of the 11th century¹³ at the same time as the first redaction of the other Russian books, connected with the introduction of the Studite rule in Russia.¹⁴

Some characteristics of possible monastic use, found in the Kontakaria, bear witness to the reality of celebrations in Russia in the period immediately after the official conversion, when the principal monasteries were received by the Russian princes, and monastic celebrations came to be closer to those of the cathedrals of the princes' courts.

Wherever the Kontakaria were used, they continued to be the most important transmitters of information concerning local elements of celebrations according to the rite of the Byzantine cathedrals in Russia. However, there exists another, relatively small, group of Studite chant books, either un-noted or with only *Znamenny* notation, which reveal the influence of these celebrations. One example may be found in an anthology from the 14th-15th century,¹⁵ (*Festal Menaion*, *Triodion* and *Pentekostarion*), in which may be seen the indication for the reading of the Gospel after the sixth ode of the canon, according to the normal practice of Byzantine cathedral rite celebrations.¹⁶

Outside these cases of the influence of the Byzantine cathedral rite, the majority of Russian liturgical chant books from the period between the 11th and 14th centuries has a direct relationship with the Studite monastic rite, though with different local variations.

Liturgical celebrations according to the Studite rule, in general well known, are organized into three annual cycles, one weekly cycle and one daily. The oldest of the annual cycles are cycles from the *Menaion* and *Triodion*, the most recent that of the *Octoechos*.

The *Menaion* cycle attributes to each day of the calendar the commemoration of a saint or group of saints, or of an event in the life of the Church, commemorated always on the same date every year.

The *Triodion* cycle is not fixed, its dates being connected to those of Lent, Easter and Pentecost, depending on the date of Easter (the Paschal cycle). In Table 1, in which an hypothetical reconstruction of the celebrations according to the three annual cycles is presented, it is supposed that Pascha falls on 23rd April. In this case, the celebrations in the weeks before Lent would begin

¹³ PENTKOVSKY, p. 164.

¹⁴ M. A. МОМИНА, "Problema pravki slavyanskikh bogoslužebnykh gimnograficheskikh knig na Rusi v XI stoletii" (M. A. Момина, «Проблема правки славянских богослужебных гимнографических книг на Руси в XI столетии» ["The problem of the correction of Slavic liturgical hymnographical books in Russia in the 11th century"]), in *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoy literatury* (Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы), v. XLV, St. Petersburg, 1992, pp. 208-215.

¹⁵ RGADA (Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents, Moscow), Tip. 135.

¹⁶ According to PENTKOVSKY (p. 208), cf. RGADA Catalogue, 1988, part II, pp. 176-181.

on 12th February (Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee), when the chants from this cycle begin to be used. The second part of the chant book of the Triodion (“Flowery Triodion” in Slavonic, corresponding to the Greek Pentecostarion) ended in the week following Pentecost, that of All Saints. Between this feast and the beginning of the week of the Publican and the Pharisee of the following year, the Triodion cycle continued with the order of readings, coinciding with those of the Menaion and Octoechos cycles.

The third annual cycle, that of the Octoechos, began on Sunday of All Saints with the attribution of the 8th tone. On the following Sundays the tones rotate repeatedly from 1 to 8. The Octoechos sequence finished on the 5th Sunday of Lent, in the same way as in the Studite and Jerusalem traditions. However, as far as the connection between the Triodion and Octoechos cycles is concerned on Lenten weekdays, these two traditions are very often found to be incompatible.

Each of the eight tones of the Octoechos ran for an entire week. Each day of the week, however, had its own dedication or dedications. These dedications were not definitively fixed almost until the new Typikon came into force in Russia. The same phenomenon may be seen in the books of the Southern Slavs. Table 2 shows the differences between the dedicatory systems, as shown in the Matins canons from two Russian Paraklitiki¹⁷ and the Serbian Octoechos (Tip. 80 is noted).

The dedications for the weekdays, as well as those of the commemorations of the Menaion and Triodion cycles, were applied to the cycle of daily liturgical services. Russian manuscripts contain the following services: Matins, 1st Hour, 3rd Hour, 6th Hour and 9th Hour, the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, the Divine Liturgy of St. Basil, The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, Vespers and Compline.

The daily celebrations of Divine Liturgy, Vespers and Matins account for the greater part of the chants. In the other services intoned reading of psalms predominated, only rarely intercalated with troparia, and prayers.

The whole collection of chants for Divine Liturgy, Vespers and Matins may be divided into two groups: the fixed and the variable. The fixed chants, in Byzantium as in Russia, were noted down only very late.

The Kontakaria contain some chants, such as the antitrisagion “All ye that have been baptized into Christ”, *koinonika*, the invitorium “O Come Let Us Worship”, Alleluias with verses in the eight tones in Kondakarian notation, but these books are rare, and exceptional from the point of view of the main liturgical tradition.

¹⁷ On one of them (Tip. 81), see O. KRASHENINNIKOVA, “Rannevizantiyskie istochniki slavyanskogo Oktoikha XIII-XIV vv” (O. Крашенинникова, «Ранневизантийские источники славянского Октоиха XIII-XIV вв». [“The early-Byzantine origins of the Slavic Octoechos of the 13th-14th centuries”]), in *Gimnologiya. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoy nauchnoy konferentsii “Pamiati protoierieya Dimitria Razumovskogo” (k 130-letiyu Moskovskoy konservatorii) 3-8 sentyabrya 1996* (Гимнология. Материалы Международной научной конференции «Памяти протоиерея Димитрия Разумовского» [к 130-летию Московской консерватории] 3-8 сентября 1996), V. 1, part 1, Moscow, 2000, p. 123.

In the Russian books following the predominant liturgical and melodic tradition of the 11th-14th centuries, as far as is known at present, fixed chants are not included. This is the reason for the Divine Liturgy, in which fixed chants are the majority, being the most enigmatic service in melodic terms.

Vespers and Matins also have fixed chants, and the situation is similar to that of the Liturgy. However, it is also in these services that the majority of the variable chants is used, from the cycles of the Octoechos, Menaion and Triodion. It is the variable chants that are to be found in many surviving sources, and allow us to obtain some idea as to the melodic aspect of these services. In Table 3, one may see the composition of Vespers, a more compact service than Matins, in three festal cases: the Afterfeast of the Birth of the Theotokos and Sts. Joachim and Anna on Tuesday, the same feast on Sunday, and Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee.

Matins is a more extensive service, and includes several sections, made up by sung or recited psalms, including antiphons, psalm verses intercalated with the troparia (on *God is the Lord*), alleluia or stichera, troparia of various kinds, litanies, prokeimenon, Gospel readings, the lives of the Saints and other prayers. However, one of the largest and most important sections is the canon. The canon includes, apart from readings, no less than nine kinds of canticles. The possibility of reconstructing the canon in detail as regards its performance in Studite practice leaves a number of doubts, given the fact that the Russian Typika of the time do not aim to explain but simply to remind the reader of what is obvious. For this reason, in Table 4 an attempt at such a reconstruction is made. The canon chosen is that of the Feast of St. Sabbas, on 5th of December. The source is a Russian Znamenny Menaion of the 12th century;¹⁸ the Typikon used for the reconstruction dates from the same century.¹⁹ It was necessary to suppose that the celebration fell on a Monday in the 12th century, and that this Monday was in the week of the 1st Tone of the Octoechos. The use of the Octoechos is prescribed by Typikon 330, which indicates for this situation a combination of two canons: first one from the Octoechos, and then that for St. Sabbas, whose *stikhi* (the Typikon must here be referring to the troparia) are doubled. The way in which the ode is to be divided is not mentioned for this day, but a division into ten has been used, as prescribed in many similar festal situations. The counting of the troparia was done with reference to the above-mentioned Paraklitiki from the 12th-13th century.²⁰ The katavasias, obligatory in the Jerusalem tradition after each ode, are rarely indicated in Sinod. 330, and then only for great feasts, so they have not been included in the table. The same may be said of the presence of the verse “Holy is the Lord our God” after the 9th ode. The litanies, though never mentioned by Sinod. 330, would seem to be obligatory after the 3rd, 6th and 9th odes.

¹⁸ GIM (State Historical Museum, Moscow), Sinod. 162.

¹⁹ GIM, Sinod. n° 330.

²⁰ RGADA, Tip. 80.

In Tables 3 (Vespers) and 4 (Canon of Matins), one may see the way the variable hymns of the Menaion, Triodion and Octoechos cycles functioned in the liturgical context. These hymns appear in the books with three kinds of notation: *Kondakarian*, which has already been mentioned, *Fita* notation and *Znamenny* notation, the chief notation in Russian sources, with origins in palaeo-Byzantine chant.

Fita notation, which used the “fita” neume, or other neumes, outside their context, uniquely for the designation of melismatic passages, is found in South-Slavic manuscripts (Serbian and Bulgarian) as well as in Russian manuscripts, while *Znamenny* notation appears exclusively in Russian sources.

Znamenny notation has various levels of complexity, which are reflected in the neumatic content.²¹ The most frequent type of *Znamenny* notation is syllabic or syllabic-melismatic, found in irmoses, troparia and stichera. Another, rarer, type uses unusual symbols and appears in more complex melismatic chants. Some of these hymns introduce kondakarian neumes into the main *Znamenny* notation. These cases are associated with melismatic stichera compositions dedicated to Russian saints, which, when they were written down had not yet attained the stability of a written tradition;²² an example is the sticheron to the first Russian martyrs, Boris and Gleb, in the Sticheria of the Menaion Russian National Library, Sof. 384.

Moving on to an examination of the general characteristics of Russian and Slavic liturgical books of the Studite era, it is useful to recall the principal sources of information concerning them.

Firstly, there is the *Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. 11-13 вв.* (Catalogue of Slavic-Russian Manuscripts Preserved in the USSR, 11th-13th centuries). It was published in Moscow in 1984, and includes information on 494 manuscripts, of which 78 have notation. The initial project was to include books from the 14th century, as one may see from *Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописей XI-XIV века* (Preliminary List of Slavic-Russian Manuscripts from the 11th-14th Centuries), published in Moscow in 1966, which continues to serve as the main source of information on books from the 14th century in general. The quantity of books mentioned in the Preliminary List is 1,493, amongst them 1,017 from the 14th century. Of these, however, only six of the latter have notation. Even examining superficially the proportion of notated to non-notated manuscripts from the 14th century, one arrives at the conclusion that the data in the Preliminary List is incomplete, something confirmed several times by scientific publications discussing different aspects of the manuscript tradition.

²¹ N. V. ZABOLOTNAYA, *Tserkovno-pevcheskie rukopisi Drevney Rusi XI-XIV vekov: osnovnye tipy knig v istoriko-funktional'nom aspekte* (Н. В. ЗАБОЛОТНАЯ, *Церковно-певческие рукописи Древней Руси XI-XIV веков: основные типы книг в историко-функциональном аспекте* [Church-singing manuscripts of Ancient Russia 11th-14th centuries: the general historical-functional aspect of the books]), Moscow, 2001, p. 105.

²² ZABOLOTNAYA, p. 102.

The time that elapsed between the mid-1960s and the first decade of the 21st century brought many corrections of the descriptive notices and attribution of dates of the manuscripts catalogued in these two publications, and showed the need for continuing the project to publish the catalogue for the 14th century and later centuries. In 2002 there appeared the first volume of *Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в России, странах СНГ и Балтии. XIV век* (Summary Catalogue of Slavic-Russian Manuscripts Conserved in Russia, in the Countries of the CIS and Baltic Countries from the 14th Century), with information on the books listed in alphabetical order from A to L. In Appendices I and II there was added information concerning books from the 12th-13th centuries that had not been included in the previous Catalogue, and corrections to the material published therein, relating to bibliography, dating of the books or sections of them, more exact information concerning their composition, and identification of the various scribes. With regard to the manuscripts of the 15th century, the main summary source was published in 1986, *Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописных книг XVв., хранящихся в СССР (Для Сводного Каталога рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР)* (Preliminary List of 15th Century Slavic-Russian Manuscripts Preserved in the USSR [Towards a Summary Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the USSR]).

The entire corpus of notated liturgical books may be separated into two large groups.

The first group comprises collections of hymns of the same genre. As far as their function is concerned, these books probably served as manuals of information, and were not intended for use during services. Some of the collections belong to a liturgical cycle, for example, the collections of stichera of the Sticheration of the Menaion.²³ These books are represented by twelve complete Russian manuscripts, dating from the 12th to the beginning of the 15th centuries, and five fragments of Russian Sticheria from the 11th-14th centuries. They all contain *Znamenny* notation, and in four cases the main notation is supplemented by *Fita* notation and *Kondakarian* notation. This group of manuscripts is completed by a Bulgarian fragment for the feast of the Dormition from the mid-13th century, in *Fita* notation.

The Sticheration of the Triodion assemble the stichera of the Lenten Triodion and the Pentecostarion in the same book. Seven complete Russian *Znamenny* manuscripts survived, written between the 12th and the 14th century, and fragments of a 12th century manuscript,²⁴ which belonged to the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos.

²³ Two of them have been published: *Sticherarium Palaeoslavicum Petropolitanum*, MMB, v.XII, Copenhagen, 2000; *Gottesdienstmenaum fur den Monat Dezember, teil 5: Facsimile der Handschrift Sin.162 des Staatlichen Historischen Museums Moskau (GIM)*, herausgegeben von Hans ROTHE, Wiesbaden, 2000.

²⁴ Published as *Fragmenta Chilandarica Palaeoslavica: A. Sticherarium Codex Monasterii Chilandarici 307*, MMB, Série principale (Facsimilés), V.a. Copenhagen, 1957.

As far as their content is concerned, the Sticheria differ substantially, especially in the case of the Sticheria from the Menaion, whose variety is due as much to the change of position of the stichera within the sections of the services as it is to the introduction of the new hymns dedicated to the Russian saints that appeared during the 11th-15th century. The level of variety tends to increase for the great feasts. Another factor that contributed to the compositional instability of the stichera is the introduction in some of them of complementary genres, such as the sedalen, the svetilen and troparia.

The irmoses of the canons are found collected in the Heirmologia. All the neumatic Heirmologia surviving in Russian libraries are of Russian origin, and contain exclusively *Znamenny* notation. From the 12th century there is the “Voskresensky” Heirmologion (GIM, Voskr. 28), the “Novgorodsky” Heirmologion (in two parts, both of them in Moscow, RGADA, Tip. 149-150),²⁵ and from the 13th century, two fragments (in Moscow and St. Petersburg) of the Hilandar Heirmologion.²⁶ One fragment of two folios is from the 14th century. The Heirmologia contain the hymns for all three annual cycles.

With regard to the time at which the Russian Heirmologia appeared, from the 12th and 13th centuries, all the surviving manuscripts are neumatic. From the 14th century onwards, with the exception of the fragment mentioned above, all the Heirmologia (four complete Russian books, one Russian fragment and one Serbian fragment) are not notated.

The Kontakaria already mentioned mix variable hymns of the three cycles with fixed hymns.

Two types of Russian collections, the Paraklitiki and the Izborni Octoechos, include Russian hymns from the Octoechos cycle. The Izborni Octoechoi were made up of stichera and sedalnyi, grouped by tone; in the Paraklitiki were recorded the weekly and Sunday canons of all the tones. The distribution of the hymns in two generic sections is typical of the oldest Byzantine Octoechoi. The later type of Octoechos in both traditions, including the Southern Slavic, is a book that follows the liturgical sequence.

There survives a single complete manuscript of the Russian neumatic Izborni Octoechos, dating from the 13th century and using *Kondakarian* and *Fita* notation (RNB, Sof. 122). Fragments of cycles of hymns with *Znamenny* notation are found in two books: a Svetilen in the Shestodniev Sluzhebny²⁷ of the 14th century, and a section from the Stichera, which would normally appear in the Izborni Octoechos, appears in a partly-notated manuscript from the first

²⁵ Published: E. KOSCHMIEDER, *Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente*, Lief.1-3, München, 1952-1958.

²⁶ Published as *Fragmenta Chilandarica Palaeoslavica: B.Hirmologium Codex Monasterii Chilandarici 308 MMB*, Série principale (Facsimilés), V.b. Copenhagen, 1957.

²⁷ The Shestodniev Sluzhebny is a book of hymns following liturgical order, containing the Sunday services of the eight tones, and, following, the order for each day of the week in one of the eight tones.

half of the 15th century with *Znamenny* notation.²⁸ The Octoechoi without notation are, similarly, not older than the 13th century, when the surviving five Bulgarian fragments and single Russian fragment were written. To the end of the 13th century or beginning of the 14th belong one complete Bulgarian manuscript and one fragment, and one Serbian fragment. From the 14th century to the first half of the 15th century the quantity of Octoechoi, mainly Russian, grew rapidly: no fewer than fifteen complete and fragmentary manuscripts are mentioned in the PS Catalogue. More recent publications by Russian scholars make mention of manuscripts which were not included in this catalogue, some of which use *Fita* notation.

A similar situation occurs with the Russian Paraklitiki. The only book with notation, in this case *Znamenny*, comes from the end of the 12th century-beginning of the 13th. It is a fragment which contains troparia of the odes of the two canons for all the weekdays and Sundays from Tones 1 to 3 (RGADA, Tip. 80). From the end of the 12th century to the beginning of the 15th century there survive eight complete and fragmentary Russian Paraklitiki and two Serbian fragments without notation.

Apart from the books dedicated entirely to the order of the Octoechos cycle, hymns from this cycle with notation may be found in other books. There are known cases of sequences of hymns from the Octoechos in Kontakaria,²⁹ which have even led scholars to believe that the second parts of these books fulfilled the function of the Octoechos during this period.³⁰ The Lenten Sticheraria of the 12th-13th centuries also included some stichera and troparia from the Octoechos in the sections of the «Чин ночи Святого Пятка», the order for the night of Holy Thursday.³¹

Another kind of book was created to bring together various genres from various cycles, collecting the most important hymns. The idea behind such a book is clearly seen in its name: Sbornik (Collection). Some manuscript sborniki were added to over time: for example, in the Sbornik (RGADA, Tip. 139), to the basis of the 12th century Triodion and Menaion were added, in the 13th and 14th centuries, canons, sedalny, kontakia and oikoi.

The second group, more recent than the books organized by genre, is made up of books organized according to the daily liturgical sequence. The majority of surviving books is made up of Menaia.

²⁸ E. V. PLETNEVA, "Notirovannye pesnopeniya drevnerusskogo Oktoikha Studiyskoy redaktsii v sostave Stikhirarey Postnykh XII-XIII vv." (Е. В. ПЛЕТНЕВА, «Нотированные песнопения древнерусского Октоиха Студийской редакции в составе Стихирарей Постных XII-XIII вв.» [“The notated canticles of the Old-Russian Oktoechos in the Studite redaction in Lenten Sticheraria from the 12th-13th centuries”]), in *Drevnerusskoe pesnopenie. Puti vo vremeni. Po materialam nauchnoy konferentsii “Brazhnikovskie chteniya. 2002”* (Древнерусское песнопение. Пути во времени. По материалам научной конференции «Бразжниковские чтения. 2002»), St. Petersburg, 2004, p. 207.

²⁹ PENTKOVSKY, p. 177, PLETNEVA, p. 208.

³⁰ Yu. V. ARTAMONOVA, *Pesnopeniya-modeli v drevnerusskom pevcheskom iskusstve XI-XVIII vekov* (Песнопения-модели в древнерусском певческом искусстве XI-XVIII веков [Model melodies in the art of ancient Russian chant of the 11th-18th centuries]), PhD. dissertation, Moscow, 1998, p. 23.

³¹ PLETNEVA, p. 209.

Amongst these there is a group of Festal Menaia, belonging to the older liturgical tradition, which had not yet established the sequences of hymns for each day. In accordance with the Studite rule, on the Sundays during this period the stichera of the Octoechos were sung, with the exception of great feasts.³² An example of this kind of Menaion is the *Znamenny* Festal Menaion from the 12th century, containing the hymns from September to February, from the Tipograf Collection 131 of the RGADA.

In the liturgical practice of old Russia, these ancient type of Menaion coexisted with complete Menaia, which contains the hymns for all the days of each month of the year, and is therefore made up of twelve volumes. Each of the multiple surviving separate volumes was conceived as part of a set. In recent years, scholars have revealed three partially complete sets of Menaia. All of them come from Novgorod, one of the most important cities, both politically and culturally, in ancient Russia, that suffered least from the Tartar invasion. The oldest of the surviving Russian group of Menaia with notation are three Menaia from the years 1095-1097 (RGADA, Tip. 84, 89 and 91), partly notated in *Fita* notation. To the second group belong five Menaia, without notation, from the 11th-12th centuries, from the Tipograf Collection (Tip. 99, 103, 110, 121 and 125). The third, and most complete, set comprises ten manuscripts from the 12th century, belonging to the Synodal Collection of the Historical Museum of Moscow (GIM, Sinod. 159-168). They have *Znamenny* notation and include, as well as the stichera, the troparia for the notated canons.

Of the total number of surviving Menaia, complete or fragmentary, most of those that contain *Znamenny* or *Fita* notation were written at the end of the 11th century or beginning of the 12th (the sets include twenty-two Russian manuscripts). There are eighteen books without notation from the same period, of which only one is Bulgarian (the fragment of the Festive Menaion from the RNB Collection). From the 13th century to the 15th, the number of notated books diminished suddenly (one Russian manuscript and two Bulgarian), while the number of books without notation increased (more than 100 complete manuscripts, Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian).

The next-most numerous liturgical book after the Menaia, in terms of the number of surviving Russian and South-Slavic exemplars, is the Triodion. The compilation of these books presents a peculiarly complex and multifaceted case. The manuscript copies of the Triodion are so different from each other that it is difficult to find even two that are identical. From the end of the 19th century, there were various attempts at classification of the Triodia of the Studite tradition. In recent times a classification scheme was suggested which distinguished seven types,³³ which differ in particularities of tradition, choice of texts and the order of the hymns within the service. Two of these seven types characterize Russian Triodia, three the Bulgarian books and two the Bulgarian and Serbian.

³² PENTKOVSKY, p. 141.

³³ М. А. МОМИНА, "Типы slavianskoy Triodi" (М. А. МОМИНА, «Типы славянской Триоди» ["The types of the Slavic Triodion"]), in *Yazyk i pis'mennost' srednebolgarskogo perioda* (Язык и письменность среднеболгарского периода), Moscow, 1982, pp. 113-116.

- The first type of Russian Triodia is represented by a unique copy from the 12th century, from the Tipograf Collection of RGADA, Tip. 137.³⁴ This type (the third) is complete; in the same book are found the Lenten Triodion and the Pentecostarion. The disposition of the hymns does not correspond to the liturgical order, something characteristic of the oldest books. Lexical-orthographical analysis has lead scholars to believe that the scribe Moisei Kiyandin, who probably lived in Kiev before moving to Novgorod, where the manuscript is likely to have been written, made this copy directly from the Bulgarian original. It was this scribe who, according to current scholarly opinion,³⁵ signed the book, so that it was given the name Triodion of Moisei Kiyandin. In general, the manuscript lacks notation; only three folios contain hymns with notation.

- The second Russian type of Triodion, the “Gimovsky”, received its name from the place in which are preserved the oldest surviving copies of this type (the fifth), the *Znamenny* Lenten Triodion from the 12th century — GIM Sinod. 319. This type of Triodion is divided into Lenten Triodion and Pentecostarion, the ordering of the hymns, as with the Moisei Kiyandin Triodion type, not corresponding to the liturgical order. Another five copies of the Lenten Triodion from the 14th century and one from the 15th have been classified as this type. Each one of the surviving Lenten Triodia of this kind was also paired with a Pentecostarion, though today no complete set is known. The Triodion 319, completely notated in *Znamenny*, is no exception, but an idea of the composition of its lost second part may be gathered from two other Pentecostaria, belonging to the same type. One of them is the oldest Pentecostarion with Russian *Fita* notation from the 11th-12th centuries (RGADA, Tip. 138), which was probably written together with the Novgorod *Fita* Menaia.³⁶ The other is *Znamenny* Pentecostarion Voskr. 27 from the 12th century.

³⁴ A comparative critical edition of the first part of this manuscript may be found in *Patristica Slavica*, herausgegeben von Hans ROTHE, Band 11: «Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des 11.-14. Jahrhunderts», Teil I: Vorfastenzeit, herausgegeben M. A. MOMINA und N. TRUNTE, Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich, 2004, p. 288.

³⁵ A. I. SOBOLEVSKY, “Istochniki dlya znakovstva s drevnekievskim govorom” (А.И. СОВОЛЕВСКИЙ, «Источники для знакомства с древнекиевским говором» [“Sources for knowledge of spoken language of Ancient Russia”]), in *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya* (Журнал министерства народного просвещения), 1885, n°2, p. 355; A. A. POKROVSKY, “Drevnee pskovsko-novgorodskoe pis'mennoe nasledie: Obozrenie pergamennykh rukopisey Tipografskoy i Patriarshey bibliotek v svyazi s voprosom o vremeni obrazovaniya etikh knigokhranilishch” (А. А. ПОКРОВСКИЙ, «Древнее псковско-новгородское письменное наследие: Обзор пергаменных рукописей Типографской и Патриаршей библиотек в связи с вопросом о времени образования этих книгохранилищ» [“The written heritage of Ancient Pskov and Novgorod: a survey of the manuscripts of the Typographical and Patriarchal libraries in the light of the question of the dating of these collections”]), in *Trudy XV Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda* (Труды XV Археологического съезда), Moscow, 1916, v. II, p. 242, pp. 287-288, p. 388; M.G. GAL'CHENKO, “Triod' Moiseia Kiyantina — Paleograficheskiy i grafiko-orfograficheskiy analiz” (М.Г. Гальченко, «Триодь Моисея Киянина — Палеографический и графико-орфографический анализ» [“The Triodion of Moisei Kiyandin — Paleographical and graphical-orthographical analysis”]), in *Patristica Slavica*, herausgegeben von Hans ROTHE, Band 11: «Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des 11.-14. Jahrhunderts», Teil I, cit, p. 288.

³⁶ PENTKOVSKY, p. 196.

Other types of Triodia, South-Slavic, preserved in Russian libraries, were named according to the following manuscripts:

- The “Shafarikov” Triodion from the 12th-13th centuries (RNB), with *Fita* notation, Bulgarian, complete, with the hymns organized according to liturgical order, and without paremias. To this first type belongs the Serbian *Fita* Triodion from the 13th-14th centuries (RNB).
- The “Zheravinsky” Triodion, surviving in fourteen Bulgarian fragments from the 13th century, probably all from the same codex, in libraries in St. Petersburg (some of the fragments are in Sofia); this sixth type, also complete, and with the hymns organized according to liturgical order, differs from the “Shafarikov” type in its composition and in various textological aspects.
- The seventh type, the “Orbelsky”, complete, the hymns and paremias following the liturgical sequence, has survived in Serbian and Bulgarian fragments from the 13th- 14th centuries, part of them containing *Fita* notation. These are preserved in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Sofia.
- Copies in Sofia and Zagreb represent two kinds of Slavic Triodion. The first of these is the “Bitolsky” Triodion from the 12th century, of the second type, the hymns arranged non-liturgically (the question of the division of this type into Lenten Triodion and Pentecostarion cannot at present be solved on account of the bad state of preservation of the manuscript), not notated, Bulgarian. The second is the “Zagrebsky”, of the fourth type, Bulgarian, complete, in liturgical order and without paremias.

In addition to the above-mentioned Russian and Slavic Triodia, divided into seven groups, Russian libraries also possess many other copies, with and without notation, of the Lenten Triodia and Pentecostaria, as well as Lenten Sticheria, which have not until now been classified. The overall picture of the temporal distribution of the manuscripts in Russian libraries, both with and without notation, duplicates the situation of other liturgical books: from the 11th-12th centuries only notated copies have survived, the notation being either *Znamenny* or *Fita* – seven books in all; the number of manuscripts with and without notation from the 13th century is more or less identical (six of the former and seven of the latter); from the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 15th century there has not survived a single Triodion with notation, while the number of books without notation — thirty-three Russian, twelve Bulgarian and ten Serbian — is significantly greater than in the early period.

In looking at Russian liturgical books with notation, one can see that the end of the 11th century-beginning of the 13th century is the richest of the whole period; a continual reduction may be seen during the course of the 13th century, many of the books have survived in fragmentary form, or only partially notated, and from the 14th century very few examples exist.

It is difficult to determine and explain the connection between the number and the character of the surviving manuscripts and the role of the corresponding period of time in the development of Russian liturgical chant. Various more important manuscripts may not have survived: the balance between the surviving books with different characteristics of genre, composition, language and neumes may not correspond to the balance between them at the time when they were functional books. However, there exist still sufficient materials to aid us to understand the liturgical tradition, and particularly the written tradition, of the Studite era in Russia.

In examining closely the musical characteristics, including the notation, of the oldest surviving books, one's attention is drawn to their high artistic level. This leads one to consider the existence of a period previous to the development of the art of chanting, which could have begun before the official Christianization of Russia, and also the possible contacts in the field of chanting with Byzantium as well as with the Southern Slavs. Many Russian manuscripts were copies of Bulgarian books, a good number of which, like the Bulgarian and Serbian manuscripts themselves, continue the *Fita* notation. However, in the Russian manuscripts *Fita* notation already gives way in the early period to *Znamenny* notation in quantitative terms. As mentioned above, *Znamenny* notation is only found in Russian manuscripts.

The fact the *Znamenny* notation was derived from Palaeo-Byzantine notation has been known for a long time. However, it is important to remember that in the 12th century, Byzantium changed to Middle-Byzantine diastematic notation. From an early date, Russia made a point of comparing her manuscripts with those of the Greeks. The notational reform which took place in Byzantium could not have been unknown in Russia. Nevertheless, the masters of Russian chant did not wish to adopt diastematic notation. The prevalence of adiastematic notation (that is, not diastematic) is supposedly explained by the significant distancing of Russian chant in relation to its Byzantine prototype in the 12th century. Over the course of time, this distancing increased. From the end of the 13th century, *Znamenny* notation ceased to spread; the reason apparently being not limited to the political situation (the Tartar invasion), which seems evident, since this limitation continued during the course of the 14th century, with the sharp increase in number of manuscripts without notation. The rare notated books from this period contain stenographic *Fita* notation, which did not impede the process of the change in intonation of the repertoire. This transitional process terminated with the formation of the style of Russian liturgical chant, which assumed its shape by means of re-conceived *Znamenny* notation. From the 15th century in Russia the Jerusalem Typikon became widespread, the liturgical books were modified and *Znamenny* chant, in its renewed form, became one of the most important elements of the genuinely Russian liturgical system.

	RGADA, Sin.Tip.80, late 12 th - early 13 th cent., Russian, 1 st tone ff. 1-71	RGADA, Sin.Tip. 81 13 th cent., Russian, all tones	GIM, Uvar.521 End of the 13 th cent., Serbian 1 st tone, fol. 50 verso - 61 verso.
Sunday	Anastasimos Stavroanastasimos The Theotokos	Anastasimos (2)	Anastasimos (2)
Monday	Angels Repentance	Angels	Repentance Angels
Tuesday	Repentance St John the Baptist	St John the Baptist	St John the Baptist
Wednesday	The Cross The Theotokos	The Theotokos	The Cross
Thursday	The Apostles St Nicholas	The Apostles	The Apostolos
Friday	The Cross The Theotokos	The Cross	The Cross
Saturday	The Prophets and Martyrs The Dead	The Prophets and Martyrs	The Theotokos The Prophets The Dead

Table 2.

9 September, Afterfeast of the Birth of the Theotokos and Sts Joachim and Anna Tuesday, 6th tone, <i>Sinod. 330, Uvar. 521</i>	9 September, Afterfeast of the Birth of the Theotokos and Sts Joachim and Anna Sunday, 6th tone, <i>Sinod. 330, Uvar. 521</i>	Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, 6th tone, 12 February, Our Holy Father Meletios, Archbishop of Antioch, <i>Sinod. 330</i>
Opening blessing Psalm 103 Great Litany	Opening blessing Psalm 103 Great Litany	Opening blessing Psalm 103 Great Litany 1 st antiphon of the 1 st kathisma Blessed is the man (Psalms 1,2,3) Small Litany 2 nd antiphon of the 1 st kathisma (Psalms 4,5,6)) Small Litany 3 rd antiphon of the 1 st kathisma Small Litany

Table 3: Vespers.

<p>Lord, I have cried (Psalms 140, 141, 129, 116) Stichera, on 6:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 from Menaion, 4th tone • 3 from Menaion, 1st tone • Glory and now Menaion <p>Entrance Evening Hymn Prokeimenon, 4th tone (of Tuesday, independent of tone) Augmented Litany Vouchsafe, O Lord Litany of supplication Exclamation</p> <p>Aposticha:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 from Octoechos, for St John Baptist, 6th tone • Martirikon from Octoechos, 6th tone • Glory and now: Menaion, 2nd tone <p>Song of Simeon Trisagion Most Holy Trinity Our Father</p> <p>Exclamation: Apolytikion from Menaion, for the Birth of the Theotokos, 1st tone Blessing of the bread Blessed be the name of the Lord Psalms 33, 144 Worthy it is Dismissal</p>	<p>Lord, I have cried (Psalms 140, 141, 129, 116) Stichera, on 9</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 from Octoechos, 6th tone • 3 from Menaion, 4th tone • 3 from Menaion, 1st tone • Glory and now Menaion <p>Entrance Evening Hymn Prokeimenon, 6th tone (Sunday, independent of tone) Augmented Litany Vouchsafe, O Lord Litany of supplication Exclamation</p> <p>Aposticha:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 from Octoechos, Sunday, 6th tone • Glory and now: Menaion, 2nd tone <p>Song of Simeon Trisagion Most Holy Trinity Our Father</p> <p>Exclamation: Apolytikion from Menaion, for the Birth of the Theotokos, 1st tone Blessing of the bread Blessed be the name of the Lord Psalms 33, 144 Worthy it is Dismissal</p>	<p>Lord, I have cried (Psalms 140, 141, 129, 116) Stichera, on 9</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 from Octoechos, 6th tone • 3 from Triodion, 8th tone • 3 from Menaion, 4th tone • Glory and now Octoechos, 6th tone <p>Entrance Evening Hymn Prokeimenon, 6th tone (Sunday, independent of tone) Augmented Litany Vouchsafe, O Lord Litany of supplication Exclamation</p> <p>Aposticha:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 from Octoechos, Sunday, 6th tone • 1 from Triodion, 6th tone • Glory and now: Octoechos, 6th tone <p>Song of Simeon Trisagion Most Holy Trinity Our Father</p> <p>Exclamation: Apolytikion <i>Baptizer of Christ</i> Blessing of the bread Blessed be the name of the Lord Psalms 33, 144 Worthy it is Dismissal</p>
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Table 3: Vespers (continued).

1 st ode	3 rd -9 th odes
1st ode Tῷ Κυρίῳ ᾠσωμεν (1 st Biblical Canticle, verses 1-12) <i>On 10</i> Irmos (Canon of Octoechos, 1 st tone, Monday. The Angels) Bibl.c, verse 13 1 troparion Bibl.c verse 14 2 troparia <i>On 8</i> 3 troparia Bibl.c verso 15 1 trop x 2 (Canon of Menaion, 5 th December, 8 th tone) Bibl.c verse 17 2 trop x 2 Bibl.c verse 18 3 trop x 2 <i>On 4</i> 4 trop x 2 Bibl.c verse 19 5 trop Glory... 5 trop nine 5 trop 3rd ode (The irmos of the 1 st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 3 rd Biblical Canticle) Small litany Sedalen, 8 th tone, podoben “ πρεμοῦδροστη ” (Menaion) 4th ode (The irmos of the 1 st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 4 th Biblical Canticle)	5th ode (The irmos of the 1 st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 5 th Biblical Canticle) 6th ode (The irmos of the 1 st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 6 th Biblical Canticle) Small litany Kontakion, 1 st tone, podoben “ ΛΗΚΑΝΓΨΑΛΨΚ ” (Menaion, without notation, or Kontakarion) Ikos, podoben “ ΚΒΟΓΟΡΟΔΝΙΨΠΡΗ ” (Menaion, without notation) 7th ode (The irmos of the 1 st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 7 th Biblical Canticle) 8th ode (The irmos of the 1 st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 8 th Biblical Canticle) <i>We praise, we bless...</i> 9th ode (The irmos of the 1 st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 9 th Biblical Canticle, the Canticle of the Theotokos [Magnificat] and the Canticle of the Prophet Zacharias) Small litany Exapostelation “ ΗΒΟΖΒΨΖΔΑ ” (Sticherarion)

Table 4: Canon of St. Sabbas, 5th December, Monday of Tone 1.

Some Current Areas of Research in Orthodox Chant and Their Impact on Performance

Ivan Moody

The vast quantity of sources of Orthodox Church music that has become available since the political changes in Eastern Europe over the last twenty-five years, together with the extremely rapid expansion in the available analytical literature, often in languages not generally familiar to western scholars, and the extraordinary increase in more or less detailed discussion of these matters as well as of issues relating to performance of these repertoires facilitated by the advent of the Internet, means that it is frequently difficult for scholars who do not work directly in this area, but who have an interest in it, to grasp precisely along which lines current research has been developing. For this reason, I have been asked to present today a brief survey of some areas of current research with a view to providing a tool that may facilitate investigation on the part of scholars working in other areas; I shall concentrate specifically on areas of research as they relate to performance.

It is, perhaps, not generally appreciated by those working outside this field just how interlinked are academic research and performance. In the areas of both Byzantine and Russian chant, increasing appreciation of questions of historical and current performance practice has radically affected the way these repertoires have been treated by researchers.

In the field of Byzantine musicology, the highly controversial resurrection of disused neumatic symbols by Simon Karras has led to what might be characterized as a crisis in the practical execution of chant. Politically polarized factions have gathered around the followers of Karras (notably the influential protopsaltis of the church of Hagia Eirine in Athens, Lycourgos Angelopoulos) and his opponents, who not only see no practical value in this research but view it as a distortion of the psaltic tradition as transmitted by the last great chanters of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, such as Iakovos Nafpliotos and Konstantinos Pringos and their pupils. Voices of more moderate stance, such as that of the psaltis and musicologist Ioannis Arvanitis, a pupil of Karras, have found it difficult to make themselves heard, though Arvanitis's choir, Hagiopolites, has carved a niche for itself by recording obscure repertoire such as that of the Kollyvades liturgical movement, which originated in the mid 18th century on Mount Athos. The priest and liturgist Fr Giorgios Rigas published a collection of the Kollyvades chants as they had been preserved in Skiathos, in 1958, and it is this collection that Arvanitis uses as the basis of his recording.

Here is the exaposteilarion for the Feast of the Myrrhbearers (medial second mode),
Γυναικες ακουτισθητε.¹

[Recorded Example 1: Track 15]

The work of Alexander Lingas, both musicologist and performing musician (he is the director of Cappella Romana, based in Portland OR), has also been seminal in widening our perspective as far as mediaeval repertoires of Byzantine chant are concerned. His doctoral thesis, completed in 1996, on the service of Matins of the Cathedral Rite (that is, in contradistinction to the monastic rite) at Thessaloniki,² led subsequently to a complete reconstruction of Vespers of the Cathedral Rite, made in conjunction with Arvanitis and celebrated at St. Peter's College, Oxford in May 2001. The celebrant was Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia, the choir the Greek Byzantine Choir under Lycourgos Angelopoulos. The Cathedral Office, it should be noted, consisted of four daily services: Vespers, Pannychis, Orthros and Trithekte, the number, structure and organization of all four of which differed from the Monastic Office which forms the basis of contemporary Orthodox worship. A subsequent disc by Arvanitis's Hagiopolites Choir, "The Boast of Constantinople", also includes remarkable reconstructions of material from the cathedral rite.³ Here is the opening of Κυριε εκεκραξα, from the opening of Vespers according to the Cathedral rite in Arvanitis's reconstruction: the suitability of such a melodic style for easy memorization and, therefore, congregational participation, may be readily understood.

[Recorded Example 2: Track 9]

Lingas's continuing research in this field, in conjunction with Arvanitis, has produced an extraordinary recording of mediaeval chant for the feasts of St. Basil and Theophany, revealing new insights into liturgical practice of the time. Amongst the most interesting of these are the sung interpolations in the processional Trisagion (Το δευτερον, το τριτον, Ευλογισατε. κηριτω δοξα, Δυναμις), of which only the last is retained in present-day usage. The same recording highlights Arvanitis's research on the canons of the heirmologia, which has brought him to the conclusion that van Biezen's hypothesis that they were originally composed in duple meter must be correct;

¹ *Under the Shadow of Mount Athos*, Hagipolitis Byzantine Choir/Ioannis Arvanitis, Hellenic Music Archives AEM 019, n.d.

² Alexander LINGAS, *Sunday Matins in the Byzantine Cathedral Rite: Music and Liturgy*, Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1996.

³ *Της Βασιλίδος κανυξηματα* – Hagipolites Choir/Ioannis Arvanitis, Melodiko Karabi MK 3013, 2003.

a hypothesis put to the test in Cappella Romana's recording of Arvanitis's transcription of two of the odes from St. Kosmas the Melodist's Canon for Theophany (from a 13th century Heirmologion, Grottaferrata E.©.II).⁴

[Recorded Example 3: Track 9]

In this context also, it is important to make mention of the practical work of Grigorios Stathis, Professor of Byzantine Musicology at the National University of Athens and Director of the Institute of Byzantine Musicology of the Autocephalous Church of Greece. With his choir, the Maistores of the Psaltic Art, he has not only made a series of important recordings, but regularly chants the office of *Pannychis* (that is, the cathedral rite equivalent of Compline) in Athens. Here is a short excerpt from the first antiphon.⁵

[Recorded Example 4]

While initiatives such as the ten disc set commemorating 1,000 years of Mount Athos (1997) and a number of smaller-scale projects have meant that the western world is relatively well-served for recordings of Byzantine chant, the continuing demand for psaltic materials outside Greece has met with rather less response until recently. However, there has been in the last few years a huge increase in what is available on the Internet. Aside from often-polemic discussion fora, there are now several websites maintained by practicing *psaltai* with wide-ranging aims, from simply providing transcriptions and adaptations into languages other than Greek, to the compilation of comparative tables for the study of intervals and the provision of historical recordings as MP3 files.⁶ There is still a lacuna as far as psaltic theory is concerned in western languages; Dimitris Giannelos's very thorough *La musique byzantine. Le chant ecclésiastique grec, sa notation et sa pratique actuelle*, from 1996, remains the only such volume on neo-Byzantine chant available to date.

A perhaps unexpected aspect of Byzantine performance practice has been investigated by Neil Moran, who has examined the phenomenon of the Byzantine castrato, which reached its peak in the 12th century, at which point all the professional singers at Hagia Sophia were castrati.⁷

⁴ *Epiphany: Mediaeval Byzantine Chant* — Cappella Romana/Ioannis Arvanitis, Alexander Lingas, Gothic G 49237, 2004.

⁵ Greek Radio recording, available on <http://www.analogion.com/>

⁶ See, for example, <http://www.groups.yahoo.com/group/byzantinechant>, <http://www.cmkon.org>, <http://www.hymns.gr>, <http://www.analogion.com/>

⁷ Neil MORAN, "Byzantine Castrati", in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 11, 2002, pp. 99-112.

Needless to say, this area of research has had absolutely no impact on current performing practice, but it does push into the spotlight the nature of the vocal quality of the Byzantine *psaltis*. Inevitably in the Patriarchal tradition today? And of not, what does that have to tell us about contemporary performance practice?

On a related issue, while the question of female chanters continues to vex the Greek Church (not least because a number of women have been tonsured to that office in the United States), the popularity of recordings from the convent of Ormylia, for example, and the extraordinary success of the Byzantine Catholic nun Soeur Marie Keyrouz have meant that the issue of female performance of Byzantine repertoires has to be taken very seriously indeed. Soeur Marie, by mastering a number of quite different repertoires and styles, from Byzantine to Maronite, has not only given a practical demonstration of her musicological accomplishments, but has brought the music before a previously unimaginably wide public.

Mention should be made here of the continuing contribution of the *Monumenta Musica Byzantina* series of Copenhagen University, whose publication of Nicholas Schidlovsky's facsimile edition of the *Sticherarium Paleoslavicum Petropolitanum* (St. Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences Library (BAN) Codex 34.7.6 (late 12th-13th cc.) was a decisive step forward in the development both of the study of the earliest Slavic notational systems, and of Byzantine-Slavic liturgy and culture. MMB has also continued to provide an invaluable tool in the form of the inventory of microfilms and photographs that was compiled initially by Troelsgaard in 1992.

Research in Russia has benefited doubly from ever closer connections with the Old Believers (*Raskolniki*), whose monophonic tradition is quite distinct from what most westerners conceive of as typical of Russian church music, notably by means of the field research carried out by Tatiana Vladishevskaya, Anatoly Konotop and others, and from the practical work, made internationally known by means of recordings, of Anatoly Grindenko and the Moscow Patriarchate Choir. While many of Grindenko's solutions and hypotheses have generated heated discussion, it remains a fact that they have brought the repertoires of early Russian chant before a public unthinkable large some twenty years ago. One of the most contested issues in the performance of Russian chant is the use of the *ison*, or drone. Konotop's view is that the *ison* was indeed used, as it is in contemporary practice in the traditions of Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria.⁸

[Recorded Example 5: Hymn of the Cherubim, Track 2]

⁸ *Suprasl Monastery* — Russian Patriarchate Choir, Anatoly Grindenko, Opus 111 OPS 30-229, 1999.

Mention should also be made here of the Ensemble Sirin, a group or researcher-performers who have done remarkable work on such projects as the spiritual songs of Russian pilgrims, and the mediaeval liturgical play of the Fiery Furnace.⁹

One of the side-effects of this research in Russia has been the proliferation of *samizdat* publications of chant, an extraordinary flourishing of in-house editions of Znamenny chant, from the entire Octoechos to collections of communion hymns, in practical editions for liturgical use. While there is far from being any consensus on issues of performance, the fact remains that the strength of the movement for the liturgical restoration of monophonic chanting is bound to have far-reaching implications both for scholars and cantors.

Also of monumental significance for the study of Orthodox chant in the West was the publication, in 1999, of Vladimir Morosan's translation and edition of the long-awaited second volume of Johann von Gardner's *Russian Church Singing — History from the Origins to the Mid-Seventeenth Century*. Gardner's methodology remains startlingly contemporary, and though in certain respects his research is inevitably now out-of-date, the breadth of his historical vision and his ability to transmit detailed information concerning the development of Russian chant is breathtaking, and is a stimulus for further research.¹⁰ Equally important is the imminent publication of the complete works of the liturgiologist Nikolay Dimitrievich Uspensky (1900-1987), initiated by the Moscow Patriarchate in 2004 with the first volume, *Pravoslavnaya Vecherniya*.

Serbian musicology continues to build on the work of Dimitrie Stefanović and Danica Petrović; the former has continued his investigations into Slavonic Byzantine chant, and produced a continuous stream of articles on all aspects of Serbian liturgical music, while the latter has continued to deal with Serbian-Slavonic traditions: her 1999 anthology *The Founders of Hilandar in Orthodox Chant* is an extensive historical anthology of transcriptions exemplifying a number of Serbian chant traditions, with analytical commentary in both Serbian and English, accompanied by a recording. She has also produced a newly-typeset edition of Baracki's volumes of Serbian chant for Christmas, and for Holy Week and Pascha (1926 and 1925 respectively), thus effectively complementing the material available in Baracki's 1923 *Нотни Зборник*, still available in a photographic reprint.

A younger scholar, Bogdan Djaković, has continued the work of both Stefanović and Petrović, but has taken a rather wider historical view, and concentrated on the later development

⁹ See, for example, *Sputnik: Russian Pilgrims*, Opus 111 OPS 30-267, 1999.

¹⁰ Johann von GARDNER, *Russian Church Singing Vol. 2 - History from the Origins to the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, translated and edited by Vladimir MOROSAN, SVS, Crestwood, New York, 2000.

of Serbian tradition. In all these cases, the connection between research and practical application is indisputable. While there is a movement within Serbia for the restoration of Byzantine chant sung in Slavonic (the foremost example of this may be found at the Athonite monastery of Hilandar), there is an equally strong awareness that the Serbian tradition has evolved into something that, while it has clear Byzantine roots, is at the same time quite distinctive.

Byzantine musicology has also flourished in Romania in recent years. Following the vast series of publications of Titus Moisescu, director of the Musical Publishing House of Bucharest, the work of the Centre for Byzantine Studies at Iași has been of vital importance. It has in the last few years produced not only a remarkable series of editions and transcriptions, but organized an annual psaltic conference, and published both proceedings and recordings thereof. Current research being undertaken there, bringing together as it does scholars from Romania, Moldavia and Ukraine, promises to shed light on the complex question of the origins of Slavic notational systems.

Byzantine chant in Bulgaria has been relatively untouched by the controversies that have raged elsewhere, though musicological work has continued unabated from such scholars as Elena Toncheva and Bozhidar Karastoyanov. In practical terms, contemporary performance of Bulgarian-Byzantine has changed relatively little since the recordings made in the 1960s by the Ioann Koukouzel and the Angeloglassniyat choirs, but a very recent disc of chants sung by Metropolitan Neofit of Rousse, and including a number in his own transcriptions, offers some hope that this repertoire may once again acquire some visibility outside Bulgaria.¹¹

[Recorded Example 6: *Se pokayaniya uchitelya*, 4th Tone, by Hieromonk Neofit of Rila, 1783-1881]

The musicologist Svetlana Kouyoumdjieva has worked not only on post-Byzantine chant, but and also on the relationship of sacred chant to Bulgarian folk music. She has taken a synthetic approach, examining a number of chant traditions and taking the view that there was an “open” culture between East and West during the Middle Ages, something confirmed not only by the work of such scholars as Raasted, but by recent musicological investigation and performances of Croatian mediaeval music by Katarina Livljanić, and also recent research by Croatian and Italian scholars into iconography in the Adriatic.¹²

Such openness, both in scholarly research and in cultural terms in general, would seem to be fundamental to the future of the study and practice of the music of both the East and the West.

¹¹ *Life and Orthodox Chant*, Metropolitan Neofit of Rousse, Sofia, 2005.

¹² See especially *Lombards & Barbarians*, Katarina Livljanić, Arcana A319, 2002 and Francesca Flores d'ARCAIS and Giovanni GENTILI, eds., *Il Trecento Adriatico, Paolo Veneziano e la pittura tra l'Oriente e Occidente*, Milan, 2002.

On Byzantine and Old-Roman Drones

Kenneth Levy

Drones are a familiar presence in today's Orthodox churches. Congregations bask in their warmth. The vocal pedal-points are a sonic halo. Westerners are reminded of Old Testament angels whose music is pictured coming from bagpipes. A recent collaboration between France's Marcel Pérès and the Athenian protopsaltist Lycourgos Angelopoulos has offered Western musical analogues of the Eastern drones. Their disk of Old Roman chants (1986) features melodic deliveries that are nuanced in present-day Greek style and supported by drone accompaniments.¹ The results are attractive. They also raise questions. How far back can the drones be traced; and how common was their usage? My aim here is to review some current notions about historical drones in the East and West, and to offer a fresh suggestion of their antiquity. There will be support for the projections of Pérès and Angelopoulos. But also questions about the universality of earlier drone usage.

The Byzantine drone, commonly called the *ison*, represents a modest sort of polyphony.² For long it seemed that drones were as far as Eastern Church polyphony went. Some more ambitious experiments were unearthed by Michael Adamis, Grigorios Stathis, and Markos Dragoumis;³ which have been reviewed by Dmitri Conomos and Diane Touliatos.⁴ These date from the 15th century, when the stimulus may have come from Western parallel organum, or particularly the Italian styles of improvised two-part polyphony — *cantus planus binatim*, which Greek musicians could have encountered at the Council of Florence in 1439. The musical results are modest: a handful of Communions whose received melody is paralleled generally at the fifth, with frequent exchanges of upper and lower positions. There were no longer-term results.

¹ *Chants de l'Église de Rome. Période byzantine*, Ensemble Organum, dir. Marcel Pérès, Harmonia mundi, France, 901218, 1986.

² Also indicative of drones are the terms *isokratema* and *bastakton*; see Lycourgos ANGELOPOULOS, "E technike tou isokratematos ste neotere mousike praxe", 2002, online.

³ Michael ADAMIS, "An Example of Polyphony in Byzantine Music of the Late Middle Ages", in *Report of the Eleventh International Musicological Society Congress, Copenhagen, 1971*, ed. H. GLAHN et al., II, Copenhagen, 1972, pp. 737-747. Such polyphonic experiments by Ioannes Plousiadenos (born ca. 1429), were pointed out by Grigorios STATHIS, *Ta cheirographa byzantines mousikes. Agion Oros, I*, Athens, 1975, pp. 350-2; III (1993), pp. 645-6; ample discussion in STATHIS, "Diploun Melos: Mia parousiase ton periptoseon 'Latinikes Mousikes' sta Cheirographa Byzantines Mousikes", in *Time pros ton didaskalon: Ekphrased agapes sto prosopo tou kathegetou Gregoriou Th. Stathe*, Athens, 2001, pp. 656-668. See also Markos DRAGOUMIS in *Laographia*, 31, 1978, pp. 272-293.

⁴ Dmitri CONOMOS, "Experimental Polyphony, 'According to the ... Latins,' in Late Byzantine Psalmody", in *Early Music History*, 2, 1982, pp. 1-16. Diane TOULIATOS-MILES, "Application of 'chant sur le livre' to Byzantine Chant: An Examination of Polyphony in Byzantine Chant", in *Acta Musicae Byzantinae*, VI, December 1993, pp. 43-50.

Polyphony with independent voices would never become a major Eastern resource. Western composers beginning in the 9th century abandoned most monophony and developed an opulent succession of polyphonic styles. But Greek Church musicians remained loyal to monophony. Over seven centuries they produced a great treasury of single-line elaborations of traditional melodies.

As for the simple drones, a key witness of their early use is the German humanist, Martin Crusius, a professor at Tübingen, whose *Turcograeciae* of 1584 describes a Byzantine practice that may have been much like that of today:

“As with our bagpipers: one pipe sustains a continuous pitch, the other sounds Dra Dra, in the manner of dancers.”⁵

For a while that seemed to be the only early testimony. Then Gregorios Stathis, cataloguing the music manuscripts on Mount Athos, found drones rubricated among florid, “kalophonic” chants, reaching back at least to the 15th century.⁶ My own samplings of anthologies at Mount Sinai and the Vatican produced similar results.⁷ Much remains to be clarified, but it would appear that Byzantine liturgical drones reach back at least to the 15th century, and perhaps even to the time of Joannes Koukouzeles, who *ca.* 1300 organized the landmark collections of Paleologan florid chants.⁸ Dmitri Conomos has theorized, quite plausibly, that the drones’s introduction was a result of the “modal obscurity” caused by “complex and ambiguous chromatic alterations which appeared probably after the assimilation of Ottoman and other Eastern musical traditions, requir[ing] the application of a tonic, or home-note to mark the underlying tonal course of the melody.”⁹ I would add that while the rubrics tell us drone-polyphony was present, they also raise the question of how common that presence was: was it extensive as today, or instead quite limited? The fact that drones are an identifiable factor in only a handful of late-Empire and post-Empire chants suggests that for most chants, which bear no special rubrics, they were not present. In earlier times drones would be exceptional rather than common, and becoming common only when their presence was no longer remarked — perhaps no sooner than the 19th century.

⁵ “More utriculariorum nostrorum, alius vocem eodem sono tenet, alius, *Dra Dra*, saltatorium in modum canit”; *Turcograeciae libri octo, a Martino Crusio*, Basileae, 1584, p. 197.

⁶ Grigorios STATHIS, *Oi anagrammatismoi kai ta mathemata tes byzantines melopoias*, Athens, 1979, pp. 28, 31, 36, instances from the 15th through 18th centuries; among later ones, STATHIS, *Ta cheirographa Byzantines mousikes*, III, 369, documenting MS Ivron 960 (AD 1768), and III, 371, MS Koutloumoussi 588 (2nd half of 18th century).

⁷ Among earlier instances: Athens National Library, MS 2061, 119 (*ca.* 1400) two Trisagia “*met[a] anabastakto_*”; Mount Sinai, MS 1293, 106v (*ca.* 1400), a florid setting of the Poyeleos (Psalm 135): *olon bastaktikon meta tou isou*. Vatican, MS Ottob. Gr. 317, 58v (florid setting of a Vesper psalm by Manuel Chrysaphes: fl. *ca.* 1440-63)... *olon meta isou*.

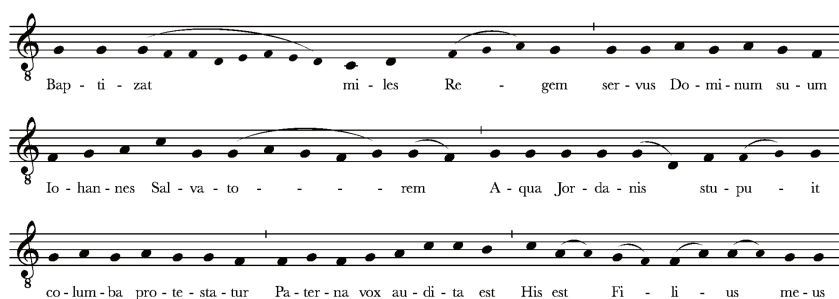
⁸ Elena TONCHEVA, “Ison Practice in the Eastern Ecclesiastical Chant of the Orthodox Balkan Region”, in *Bulgarian Musicology* - online, 2001-3, pp. 13-32.

⁹ “Experimental Polyphony”, in *Early Music History*, 2, 1982, p. 1.

There are, however, indications of much earlier ecclesiastical drones. Notably, these come from the Latin West, even from the papal chapel. The Roman Ordines of the 8th-10th century mention an “archiparafonista” and three “parafonistae” among the regular performers, which may imply some simple polyphonic practice, even that of drones. The evidence was first collected by Peter Wagner in 1928, and has been much argued over since, most recently in an authoritative paper by Guido Milanese.¹⁰ Those who would see a symptom of drone-usage can even find Byzantine antecedents, for among the Old Roman chants in whose delivery the parafonistae might have taken part some have texts translated from Greek or Armenian.¹¹ It is on these premises — acknowledged to be fragile — that the drone projections of Pérès and Angelopoulos are based.

Apart from this, there has been little to indicate an early use of church drones. It is hard to imagine what form further indications might take, other than a detailed rubric, an eyewitness account (like that of Crusius), or an unusually sharp theoretical description.¹²

What I propose now is something quite unusual. There is an odd notational entry in the Old Roman antiphoner, London, Additional MS 29988. It has been accessed so far only by means of a decades-old microfilm which cannot be taken altogether seriously; it may amount to a deception owing to the photographic process, or just a scribal caprice. It concerns the antiphon *Baptizat miles regem*, which since at least the 9th century has been sung in the Epiphany office or its Octave. Ex. 1¹³ gives the Gregorian reading in a 12th century antiphoner of Lucca.



Example 1 [PM 9, Baptizat miles GREG].

¹⁰ Peter WAGNER, «La paraphonie», in *Revue de musicologie*, IX, 1928, pp. 15-19; X, 1929, p. 4; Guido MILANESE, «Paraphonia – parafonista: dalla lessicografia greca alla tarda antichità romana», in *Curiositas, Studi di cultura classica e medievale in onore di U. Pizzani*, Napoli, 2002, pp. 407-421; Milanese identifies Otto Kinkeldey as first to associate the parafonistae with drones, “The Term ‘Paraphonista’ and its Meaning”, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 3, 1950, pp. 158-9.

¹¹ Joseph LEMARIÉ, «Les antiennes ‘Veterem hominem’ du jour octave de l’Epiphanie», in *Ephemerides liturgicae*, LXXII, 1958, pp. 3-38.

¹² There is reference to a (silenced) “organ” with the Old Roman antiphon *Christus factus est* of Maundy Thursday: Vatican, Arch. S. Pietro B. 79, 97r; *Venerabilis viri Josephi Mariae Thomasii, Opera Omnia, tomus quartus, Responsorialia et Antiphonaria*, Romae, 1749, p. 90: *hanc antiphonam cantamus sem(e)l tantum et sine organo*; perhaps indicating a suspension of parallel polyphony or of drone practice.

¹³ *Paléographie musicale*, 9, p. 76.

Baptizat miles Regem, servus Dominum suum, Iohannes Salvatorem, Aqua Jordanis stupuit, columba protestatur, Paterna vox audita est, Hic est Filius meus.

The Knight baptizes a King; the servitor his Lord; John, the Savior. Jordan's waters are amazed; the Dove is witness; the voice of the Father is heard: this is My Son.

The rhetorical pairings (knight/king, servant/master, John Baptist/Christ), as well as the divine apparition (*Paterna vox audita est*...) mark this as an unusual antiphon text. Like some other chants in the Epiphany Octave's commemoration of Baptism, it may have an Eastern background. Notker's *Life of Charlemagne* tells how the Emperor ordered the translation of the antiphon-series *Veterem hominem* for that feast, with texts and music turned from Greek originals into Latin antiphons.¹⁴ Notker makes no mention of *Baptizat miles*, and no Eastern hymnic model has been found, but there are suspicions of Greek or Armenian antecedents.¹⁵ There is also a Milanese musical version without immediate interest, but the Old-Roman version wants a closer look. It appears in both of the surviving Roman antiphoners of the late twelfth to early thirteenth century, and it returns us to precisely where the Carolingian-era *Ordines* suggested an application of drones. The two Roman readings are seen in Ex. 2: that of the Vatican manuscript, V (= San Pietro B. 79, 41), and the London manuscript, L (= Add. Ms. 29988, 37v).

Clearly, the Roman reading in Ex. 2 is related to the Gregorian in Ex. 1. And in this case we can even be reasonably certain of how that relationship went. Like the *Veterem hominem* series, the Gregorian *Baptizat miles* would be shaped first in the Carolingian north (after an Eastern model), then brought south where it underwent idiomatic remodeling in the Roman style. Comparing the two, we can identify the characteristic melismatic roundings of Rome. We also see that the two Roman readings differ slightly from one another; the Vatican manuscript specifies more in the way of nuance. And those differences suggest that a memory-factor went along with the actions of copying: each scribe was working from a noted model, but was also reviewing the melody as fixed in memory. There may even have been some improvisatory license.

The notation of the London manuscript is seen in Ex. 3.¹⁶

¹⁴ Jacques HANDSCHIN, «Sur quelques tropaires grecs traduits en latin», in *Annales musicologiques*, 2, 1954, pp. 27-60; Joseph LEMARIÉ, «Les antiennes 'Veterem hominem'», 31f; Oliver STRUNK, "The Latin Antiphons for the Octave of the Epiphany", in *Mélanges George Ostrogorsky*, vol. 2, 1961, pp. 417-26, repr. in STRUNK, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, pp. 208-219; Michel HUGLO, «Relations musicales entre Byzance et l'Occident», in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 5-10 September 1966*, ed. Joan M. HUSSEY, Oxford, 1967, pp. 267-280; see pp. 272-3; reprinted in HUGLO, *Les anciens répertoires de plain-chant*, article XV, Ashgate/Variation Collected Studies Series, Aldershot, 2005; K. LEVY, "Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul", in *Early Music History* 4, 1984, pp. 93-4, repr. in LEVY, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*, Princeton, 1998, pp. 75-6; Edward NOWACKI, "Constantinople-Aachen-Rome: The Transmission of Veterem hominem", in *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Huke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter CAHN and Ann-Katrin HEIMER, Hildesheim, 1993, pp. 95-115.

¹⁵ LEMARIÉ on «*Baptizat miles*: 'une saveur nettement orientale'»; «Les antiennes 'Veterem hominem'», p. 32.

¹⁶ London, Add. MS 29988, 37v.; on the Old Roman tradition of this manuscript, see HUGLO, *Les anciens répertoires de plain-chant*, 2005, Addenda, pp. 6-7.

V
8 Bap - ti - zans mi - les Re - gem ser - vus Do - mi - num su - um

L

V
8 Jo - han - nes Sal - va - to - rem A - qua Jor - da - nis stu - pu - it

L

V
8 Co - lum - ba pro - te - sta - tur Pa - ter - na vox au - di - ta est

L

V
8 Hic [est] Fi - li - us me - us

L

Example 2 [Baptizat ROM].

nis uisus est paterna uox audita est hic est filius meus cuos
Baptizans miles regem seruus dominum suum. In eo. In
iohannes filium norm. Aqua uisus est stupuit uoluntas presta
tur paterna uox audita est hic est filius meus

Example 3 [Facs. of Add. 29988, 37v.].

At roughly the words *paterna vox* there is a curious entry above the main melodic line; it looks like four podatus attached to pitch C; the Vatican manuscript has nothing of the sort. These ostensible podatus raise questions. Are they just pen-tests — *prove di penna*? It is an odd place for them. Are they entries by a second hand? That may well be. But are they an alternative musical reading? That seems unlikely, since they neither fit into the melodic line nor align with the text syllables. Might they be a read-through, due to thin parchment, from the folio recto (37 recto) to this verso? Not so far as the photographs tell us; nor would they be an inky imprint from the facing folio (38 recto).

Lacking some more compelling explanation, we see four podatus, more or less regular in shape, whose irregularities suggest the intervention of a later hand or hands, and perhaps a conversion from what were originally virgae or simple verticals. These can in any case be seen as purposeful musical entries. Yet what purpose might they have had? I have mentioned the possibility of an improvisational factor in the copying-process. Now can it be that this point in the antiphon brought forth a scribe's impulsive, imprecise representation of a drone accompaniment? It makes its appearance, as if to underline the text, *paterna vox... Hic est filius... ..*¹⁷ There are other questions. What sort of drone-profile would the writer have in mind? The “four podatus” do not picture a conventional drone. Yet how else might something like that be described: by way of repeated verticals – which may be the original state of the signs? Or does the podatus suggest a drone with shifting pitch? Enough of speculation. This has already been taken too far. Before more is ventured, the London parchment itself must be made to testify, and that may put a quick end to these photograph-based musings.

It is time to close. The four Old-Roman podatus may bear no information about early drones. Yet for the moment it seems possible that they represent a kind of fossil-imprint of a Roman drone usage of the 9th (?) through early 13th centuries; behind which there might be an Eastern usage of those same centuries. This would put the drones well back in time, and it would lend further authority to the genial experiments of Pérès and Angelopoulos. Yet let me again be mindful of a caution that now applies to the Roman *Baptizat miles* as well the Eastern-rite drones that are known from late-Empire rubrics. Where modern-day drones are widely employed, the earlier instances may not represent so regular a practice. Just the opposite: scribes in past centuries may have remarked their presence precisely because the drones were then exceptional, reserved for special situations.

¹⁷ The same text-phrases are found in the Old Roman antiphon *In columbe specie*, entered just above *Baptizat miles*; which brought forth nothing similar.

POSTSCRIPT

In my Lisbon text I spoke of the four “ostensible podatus” in the London copy of *Baptizat miles*, and the uncertainties of dealing with photographs rather than originals. As good fortune had it, Nicolas Bell was a participant in the Colloquium, and he generously agreed to examine the manuscript on his return to London. His report arrived a week later. “I had a look at the signs in Add. 29988, and the answer comes as something of a surprise. They are not podatus, but four letter ‘a’s, written in a lighter brown ink and apparently in a different hand from the text scribe (and probably, given their lighter colour, different from the music scribe too).” Four minuscule ‘a’s added on the C-line, just as the *paterna vox* enters. That opens fresh possibilities (significant letters, ...?), but the notion of a drone remains.

The Lamentation of Asterix: *Conclusit vias meas inimicus*

Manuel Pedro Ferreira

To Kenneth Levy

The year is 800 A.C.: Gaul is entirely occupied by Roman liturgical books. Well, not entirely... One small monastery of indomitable Gauls still holds out against the invaders. And, 1200 years later, trying to find what they sung is not easy for musicologists confined to university campuses...

I

It is known that, in the second half of the 8th century, the liturgy of Rome served as a basis, in the Carolingian Empire, of the formation of the Roman-Frankish rite which, imposed as a political decision, replaced the Gallican rite, almost entirely eliminating any trace of it. It is also known that, from this time on, the Roman-Frankish rite was associated with Gregorian chant and that both reached the Iberian Peninsula, taking the place, from the end of the 11th century, of the Old-Hispanic liturgy, whose musical legacy, in that it does not record the melodic intervals, is today largely undecipherable. Nevertheless, Gregorian melodies sometimes invite an archaeological excavation which may lead to surprising discoveries.

In 1997, during one of my visits to the Cathedral of Braga, I came across a Matins responsory for Palm Sunday, *Conclusit vias meas inimicus*, where, in two different manuscripts, flats in red ink had been added to some of its E notes. Both choirbooks, n^{os}. 10 and 31, date from the early 16th century, but these flats could have been written at any time between then and the early 19th century (Ex. 1).

As with any great responsory, *Conclusit* consists of two parts, the respond and the verse. The respond is given an individual, fixed artistic melody (composed anew, crafted from traditional materials or somewhere in between), whereas the verse is usually sung to one of eight invariable formulaic tones, freely adaptable to the length of the text and the position of its initial and medial accents. After the verse is sung, the final part of the respond (often its last third, approximately speaking) is repeated by the choir; this final section will be called here the *repetendum*.

Catedral de Braga
L.C.31 L.C.10

Con - clu-sit vi-a s me - a s i-ni-mi - cus i n-si-di-a-tor fac-tus est mi - chi

si - cut de - o i n a bs-con-di - to re-ple-vit et ine-bri-a-vit me a-ma-ri - tu-di - ne

de-de-re-ru nt in la-cum mor-tis vi-ta m me - am et po-su-e - runt la - pi-da m con-tra me.

<P[ressa]> Vi-de do-mi-ne i-ni-qui-ta-tes i-llo - rum et iu-di - ca ca u-sam a-ni-me

me - e de-fen-sor vi-te me - e. <X/> Fac-tus su- m in de-ni-sum om-ni po-pu-lo me - o

can-ti-cum e-o-rum to-ta di - e <P.> Vi-de

Ex. 1: The responsory *Concluit* in Braga's choirbooks. In this transcription, flats in red appear above the staff (doubled, whenever found in both codices); editorial suggestions are presented inside square brackets.

In the Braga chant tradition, the piece starts by establishing A, with upper B flat, as an axis, in dialogue with the lower F, which in turn is established as a second axis, before one hears the melody plunge into C (a typical plagal gesture) and return to F and above. The B flat appears not only in the incipit, but also afterwards, with some prominence: in fact, it functions as a third melodic axis, before it is provisionally replaced by the upper C. The cadential formula at *abscondito*, (*ama*)ritudine and (*vi*)tam meam is common to many other chants ending on F.¹ All this is compatible with a 6th-mode piece, although the polarity between F/G and B flat/C in its middle part brings an 8th-mode flavour and a modulating character with it. The melody also goes as high as a seventh above the final, thus associating plagal and authentic ranges, even if internal cadences never end higher than A; the lower notes return only at the end.

¹ Cf. Theodore KARP, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant*, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1998, pp. 273-75.

This mixed-range quality, while atypical, is in keeping with the particularly high-pitched behaviour of the sixth responsorial tone; the initial progression in the respond from A to B flat and C, and the final return to F, replicates, in a way, the structure of the tone as it appears in a number of southern French and Iberian sources.² However, the E flats which are called for above *leo*, *amaritudine*, *posuerunt*, *iudica*, *mee* (in the responsorial melody) and *tota* (in the verse) are totally unexpected, and an exceedingly rare phenomenon. They imply a major second below the final degree, and therefore, ambiguity between the 6th and the 8th modes becomes unavoidable.

Not every flat appears in each individual choirbook: three appear in only one of them, the remaining three in both. But this was enough for me to infer, first, that the additions were made independently of one another, and second, that they depended on an established local tradition, and not just on an individual's whim. It remained to investigate whether this tradition corresponded to a late, regional performance practice (exceptional use of *musica ficta* allowing perfect fifths or fourths between E and B) or if it corresponded to an older, widely disseminated *stratum*, as the generally conservative character of the Braga chant tradition would imply. Theoretical references to the responsory *Conclusit* by the Berkeley Anonymous (Goscalcus) and Anonymous XI were recorded years ago by Dolores Pesce; but since only a couple of medieval antiphoners were consulted, she was not able to make sense of these remarks.³

² Paris, BN lat. 1090 (from Marseille); Paris, BN lat. 1091 (from Arles); Silos, Bibl. Monasterio, 9 (from Celanova), Paris, BN lat. 742 (from Ripoll); Huesca, Archivo de la Catedral, 2 (from somewhere in Aragón). The version of the responsorial tone found in Braga, with tenors A and C in the first part, and F in the second, is possibly earlier; it is also found in Benevento, Bibl. Cap. V.21, Toledo 44.2 and Huesca 7, with the same melodic turns. The version printed in Paolo FERRETTI, *Esthétique gregorienne*, Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1938, p. 250 (which differs from that in the original Italian edition of the book) retains the triple tenor A-C/F. Willi APEL (*Gregorian chant*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958, 236n), complains that he has been unable to find an example of the hypothetical 'original' tenors, A and F (rather than C and F), in the sixth tone; Alberto TURCO (*Il canto gregoriano: toni e modi*, Roma: Torre d'Orfeo, 1991, pp. 269-70), assumes A and F as plagal tenors, but then reproduces the Solesmes version, applied to a short text which uses only tenors C and F (*Liber hymnarius cum invitatoriis & aliquibus responsoriis*, Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1983, pp. 509-10, 605). The closest to the hypothetical 'early' paradigm that I know of is the A-C/F scheme, where the A is attained at the intonation but remains the melodic axis afterwards for a short while, if necessary, before it is replaced by the upper C; this scheme possibly evolved to B flat-C/F through the transitional stage A (intonation axis)-B flat-C/F, found in the sources mentioned above. However, there may have been different, early forms of the tone; Toledo 44.1 (from Tavèrnoles) already has a B flat axis at the intonation, and goes immediately to tenor C. Two different modern reconstructions of the B flat-C/F form of the tone appear in Paolo FERRETTI, *Estetica gregoriana*, Roma: Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, 1934, p. 272; and Bruno STÄBLEIN, «Psalm. B», *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Band 10, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962, cols. 1676-90 [Tabelle]. A comparative table, recording some melodic variants, is published as an Appendix in Giacomo BAROFFIO, «I versetti non salmodici dei responsori tra reliquie archaiche e fenomeni tardivi: osservazione preliminari», *Musica e storia*, vol. XIV/1 (2006), pp. 143-62.

³ Dolores PESCE, *The Affinities and Medieval Transposition*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, pp. 82, 84, 190, 194.

Consequently, I began to collect materials to study this piece, a process which lasted until 2005.⁴ Having done it on the side, as it were, and having access only to a small number of microfilms, my data is not as complete as I would wish; I apologize for any shortcomings that this may bring to my understanding of the music. Examination of more than forty notated manuscripts (with additional information concerning another forty) provides, however, enough evidence to sustain my argument.

My interest in the responsory started a year before Theodore Karp published his richly documented and insightful book, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant*, which I saw, being far from well-equipped research libraries, only in 2004. I discovered then, to my surprise, that he had already dedicated ten pages to *Conclusit*.⁵ This testifies to the interest and intellectual challenge posed by this melody. However, Karp's conclusions and mine are not exactly the same. Our disagreement arises mostly from my use of practical and theoretical sources which were not available to, or were unwillingly ignored by Karp, an oversight which is hardly surprising given the enormous task he faced when writing his huge book. The present report comes thus as an expansion and revision of his pioneering observations.

Karp finds the melody unusual and proposes a Gallican origin for it, because (1) “*Conclusit* does not have a fixed place in the liturgy”; (2) “it does not have a fixed verse”; (3) “one finds multiple use of the pes stratus, which Huglo designates as symptomatic of Gaulish chant, whether of Gallican or Romano-Frankish origin”; (4) “one finds the descending sequential patterns also cited by Huglo”; and (5) “its pitch vocabulary displays the richness associated with other chants thought to be of Gallican origin”, among these some offertories with non-psalmic texts singled out by Kenneth Levy.

Karp infers from the incipit provided by the Berkeley Anonymous, taken together with a remark by Theinred of Dover, that the melody “begins a minor third above the final, leaps down to the whole tone below the final, and then circulates within this pitch space”; from close comparative reading of a variety of manuscript sources and discussion of the problematic shifts in notational level encountered there, he concludes that, “faced with the necessity to choose between the maintenance of the large-scale tonal relationships within *Conclusit vias meas* and the maintenance of the details of individual gestures, most [medieval musicians] opted in favor of the latter [...]”. The majority of the displacements that may be noted retain the basic tetrachordal

⁴ Some microfilm prints were sent to me in 1997 and 1998 by Daniel Saulnier and Ike de Loos; the latter also provided a list of manuscripts, with the respective modal assignment for *Conclusit*. After a first version of this paper was read in 2005, Ruth Steiner, Lila Collamore and Giacomo Baroffio mailed additional photos or microfilm prints which expanded the available evidence significantly.

⁵ T. KARP, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-22.

and pentachordal shapes at the expense of the overall tonal structure [...] even the individual phrases may be sacrificed for the maintenance of their constituent parts”. Karp then attempts, by analytical reasoning, to identify the causes behind the observed notational shifts, and proposes, with due reservations, a possible reconstruction of the melody, assuming F final and starting with a descending leap from A flat to E flat.

At the outset I must say that I find Karp’s suggestion that *Conclusit* belongs to the sphere of Gallican chant worth keeping in mind; his argument, however, is not altogether convincing. The responsory is found in the two surviving Old-Roman antiphoners; it appears there in the same liturgical position, on Palm Sunday.⁶ Although the manuscript sources are no earlier than the 12th century, they spring, to some extent, from a venerable local tradition; thus, *Conclusit* may have been known in Rome already in the mid-8th century. The current narrative about the genesis of Gregorian chant presents it as a Frankish adaptation of Roman chant; although recently challenged,⁷ this view implies that one should not exclude the possibility of Roman roots. It is also possible that the responsory was composed in the wake of Carolingian liturgical reform, reaching Rome only afterwards. At the latest, the piece must have been in existence before the partition of the Carolingian Empire in the mid-9th century, for it spread all over Europe. Thus, the hypothesis of a Gallican origin must compete with that of a Roman, or a later Frankish origin.

I concede that the liturgical assignment of the responsory is not completely stable (Palm Sunday is its most common location, but the chant may exceptionally appear earlier, or, in many cases, on the following Monday or Tuesday).⁸ It comes with one of two different verses, or both.⁹

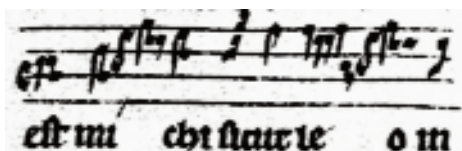
⁶ London, BL add. 29.988, and Roma, Bibl. Vat., Arch. S. Pietro B. 79. In the Old-Roman *Ordo antiphonarum* [Ordo XII] there is no mention of chants sung on Palm Sunday: cf. Michel HUGLO, «Le chant ‘vieux-romain’. Liste des manuscrits et témoins indirects», *Sacris erudiri*, vol. 6 (1954), pp. 96-124, reprinted in id., *Les anciens répertoires de plain-chant*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, ch. I; Michel ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge, vol. II: Les textes (Ordines I-XIII)*, Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1960, pp. 459-66 [463].

⁷ Nancy VAN DEUSEN writes that ‘since the fundamental premises of the two melodic procedures differ so clearly and significantly, it is difficult to imagine that one melodic type evolved from, was generated by, or became the revision of the other’ (“Formula or Formulation? Old Roman Chant and Italianate Melodic Style”, *Max Lütolfzum 60. Geburtstag: Festschrift*, Basel: Wiese Verlag, 1994, pp. 21-30 [27]). Kenneth LEVY proposes a radical overhaul: that the early attempt to impose Roman music as a model for Frankish singers failed, that Gregorian chant is largely a Frankish creation based on Gallican musical precedent, and that ‘the musical relationship between GREG and ROM [...] results from the arrival of Frankish GREG at Rome, where it was meant to replace the local ROM repertory. But Roman musicians, instead of abandoning their music, effected a compromise. They accepted considerable amounts of GREG music, but remodeled what they took into conformity with their own ROM style’ (“Gregorian Chant and the Romans”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 56 (2003), pp. 5-41 [6]).

⁸ T. KARP, *op. cit.*, p. 214. For examples of assignment to Palm Sunday or Monday in Holy Week, see René-Jean HESBERT, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* [= CAO], vol. IV, Roma: Herder, 1970, p. 78 (n° 6306); Tuesday in Holy Week (not mentioned by Karp) is found, for instance, in the Worcester Cathedral antiphoner (facsimile in the series *Paléographie Musicale*, 1^e série, vol. 12, Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1922, p. 115).

⁹ The verse *Factus sum in derisum...* comes from the book of Lamentations, 3.14; *Omnes inimici mei...* is taken from Psalm 40 (41), 8-9. According to Samuel TERRIEN, *The Psalms. Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003, pp. 343-47 [346], ‘this poem apparently was composed by one of Jeremiah’s disciples’.

It apparently adds a chromatic degree to the usual pitch vocabulary. None of these facts imply a Gallican origin. In what concerns the Office, local usage frequently implies some degree of variance in liturgical assignment. Alternative verse texts are common enough in Office responsories. The presence of degrees such as the E flat or the F sharp, in addition to the usual diatonic gamut, has been detected in Gregorian melodies which have not so far been suspected of having a Gallican background.¹⁰ Moreover, there are just two pes stratus in the Sarum antiphoner from Barnwell, of which only the first is corresponded in the oldest sources, instead of multiple use of the neume, as argued (Ex. 2).¹¹



Ex. 2: The use of the pes stratus in the responsory *Conclusit* in the Barnwell antiphoner (Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Mm.ii.9).

We are thus left with one pes stratus and two cases of consecutive climacus starting on adjacent degrees, on (*inebriavit*) *me* and (*deduxerunt*), which Huglo identified as a typically (but not exclusively) Gallican descending sequential pattern. In so doing, Huglo warned that “purely musical criteria cannot distinguish between the older Gallican repertory and chants composed shortly after the Carolingian reform”, since “after the imposition of the Gregorian repertory in Gaul, chant composition continued for a time along traditional lines”.¹² Gallican musical features are therefore compatible with the hypothesis of a late Frankish creation. It may also be supposed that the pes stratus and the sequential pattern observed are traces of 8th-century Frankish remodeling of an imported Roman melody. These alternative explanations, late Frankish composition or idiomatic remodeling, would still stand if a further link with Gallican musical style is added: the ascending chain of thirds B flat - D - F recalls a reintonation formula which Michel Huglo signaled as a Gallican trait.¹³

The Mont-Renaud manuscript, from Noyon (reproduced in the series *Paléographie musicale*, I^e série, vol. 16, Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1955), has both verses without neumes (*Omnes* entered by a second hand, above *Factus*); according to Karp (*op. cit.*, p. 214), Roma, Bibl. Vall. MS C 5 has *Omnes* followed by *Factus*, both with music (complete only above the latter).

¹⁰ Gustav JACOBSTHAL, *Die chromatische Alteration im liturgischen Gesang der abendländischen Kirche*, Berlin: Julius Springer, 1897 (repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970); Rupert FISCHER, «Die Notation von Stücken mit chromatisch alterierten Tönen — Schwierigkeiten der melodischen Restitution», *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* 29 (2000), pp. 43-78.

¹¹ Facsimile: Walter Howard FRERE (ed.), *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, 6 vols., London: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1901-1924, repr. Farnborough, Hants.: Gregg Press, 1966.

¹² Cf. Michel HUGLO, “Gallican rite, music of the”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley SADIE, 20 vols., London: MacMillan, 1980, vol. 7, pp. 113-25 [117]; 2nd ed. (2001): vol. 9, pp. 458-72 [463].

¹³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, and *id.*, «Altgalikanische Liturgie», *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik*, Band I, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972, pp. 219-33 [228], reprinted in M. HUGLO, *Les anciens répertoires de plain-chant*, cit., ch. VIII.

On this slim basis, nothing can securely be said about the melody's ultimate origins. It may be that the text, common to Old-Roman and Gregorian sources, can shed some light on the matter; I give it below, with punctuation added:

*Conclisit vias meas inimicus; insidiator factus est mihi, sicut leo in abscondito; replevit et inebriavit me amaritudine; deduxerunt in lacum mortis vitam meam et posuerunt lapidem contra me. Vide, domine, iniquitates illorum et iudica causam animae meae, defensor vitae meae.*¹⁴

This seems to be a free centonization of passages from the book of Lamentations, chapter 3. Different Latin versions of this biblical book circulated in the early Middle Ages; the exact version from which the text was taken, or adapted, cannot be ascertained on the basis of the available evidence. The versicles quoted (9, 10, 15, 53 and 58-59) span most of the chapter. In the standard editions of the Vulgate, they read as follows:¹⁵

3.9: *conclisit vias meas lapidibus quadris semitas meas subvertit*
3.10: *ursus insidians factus est mihi leo in absconditis*
3.15: *replevit me amaritudinibus (et) inebriavit me absinthio*
3.53: *lapsa est in lacu(m) vita mea et posuerunt lapidem super me*
3.58: *iudicasti Domine causam animae meae redemptor vitae meae*
3.59: *vidisti Domine iniquitatem (illorum) adversum me iudica iudicium meum*¹⁶

Note that while verses 9-13 and 15-16 (the larger context of those first quoted) presuppose a singular subject, 3.53 implies a non-identified plural subject, which in fact is introduced by the previous verse, 3.52: *Venatione venati sunt me quasi avem inimici mei gratis.*¹⁷ The text from the

¹⁴ This is the standard, CAO text, reproduced in the CANTUS database. For variants, see R.-J. HESBERT, *Corpus Antiphonale Officii*, cit., and 'Critical Edition of Respond c6306', in CURSUS: An Online Resource of Medieval Liturgical Texts.

¹⁵ *Biblia sacra. Iuxta vulgatam versionem. Editio minor*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1984, pp. 1251-53. Additional letters or words from the Editio Clementina (Roma, 1592), reproduced in the critical apparatus, appear between round brackets.

¹⁶ The online World English Bible translation (Accessed in February 2007): 3.9 He has walled up my ways with cut stone; he has made my paths crooked. 3.10 He is to me as a bear lying in wait, as a lion in secret places. 3.15 He has filled me with bitterness, he has sated me with wormwood. 3.53 They have cut off my life in the dungeon, and have cast a stone on me. 3.58 Lord, you have pleaded the causes of my soul; you have redeemed my life. 3.59 Yahweh, you have seen my wrong. Judge my cause.

¹⁷ Additional verses in translation: 3.11 He has turned aside my ways, and pulled me in pieces; he has made me desolate. 3.12 He has bent his bow, and set me as a mark for the arrow. 3.13 He has caused the shafts of his quiver to enter into my kidneys. [...] 3.16 He has also broken my teeth with gravel stones; he has covered me with ashes. [...] 3.52 They have chased me relentlessly like a bird, those who are my enemies without cause.

central part of the chapter, not retained here, tends to have a reflexive character, which would distract from the description of vile actions and their consequences, chosen as the focus of this respond. The final call to God, calling for harsh punishment of enemies (3.64-66), is also avoided.

Michel Huglo tells us that in Gallican chants based on biblical texts “there are characteristic divergences from the Vulgate version”.¹⁸ In fact, the responsory *Conclusit* not only diverges greatly from the Vulgate; the biblical text was trimmed and compressed, and words were added where needed to complete the sense. It seems to have been composed as a kind of “chant ‘libretto’”, an expression coined by Kenneth Levy to describe the text of non-psalmic Gregorian offertories with connections to Hispanic and Milanese chant. These chant-librettos “are ‘centonizations’, which weave together fragments of text that in the originals may be quite separate; they show a tendency to condense, to paraphrase, and even to compose new verbiage that has no scriptural basis”, in order to create an adequate vehicle for musical setting of (perhaps) a florid nature.¹⁹

Don Randel observed long ago that in another category of responsorial chants, the Visigothic *Psalmi*, “a considerable rearrangement of the texts took place in the course of their abbreviation. One might as well say that new texts were composed”.²⁰ Jordi Pinell wrote, concerning the Visigothic *Threni* sung in Lent, that “the texts are heavily centonized. Besides the book of Lamentations, use is made of Job, Jeremiah and Isaiah. The complicated mosaic of biblical phrases develops on a note of complaint. This uninterrupted lament would result in unbearable monotony, had not the art of centonization been able to avoid it. The text’s carefully crafted monotony was certainly a response to the intentions of the composer — it is probable that the author of the music himself centonized the text in accordance with his requirements —, endeavouring to demonstrate its expressive potential by harping on a single theme: that of a dramatic, almost despairing tone”.²¹ While conceding that centonization as a basis for textual recomposition is extremely common in Hispanic liturgical sources, Levy’s comparative research led him to propose a Gallican origin for most of these offertories, since they left a trace in Ambrosian chant and only four of them have close musical parallels in Hispanic sources.²²

Conclusit vias meas inimicus does not surface in the Ambrosian rite.²³ It does, however, appear in Hispanic chant. It turns out that the text of our Old-Roman and Gregorian responsory is a

¹⁸ M. HUGLO, “Gallican rite”, cit.

¹⁹ Kenneth LEVY, “Old-Hispanic Chant in its European Context”, *Actas del Congreso Internacional ‘España en la Música de Occidente’*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1987, vol. I, pp. 3-14 [4].

²⁰ Don Michael RANDEL, “Responsorial Psalmody in the Mozarabic Rite”, *Études grégoriennes*, vol. X (1969), pp. 87-116 [94].

²¹ Jordi PINELL I PONS, «Repertorio del ‘Sacrificium’ (canto ofertorial del rito hispánico) para el ciclo dominical ‘de cotidiano’», *Ecclesia Orans*, vol. I (1984), pp. 57-111 [72]; my translation, kindly revised by Ivan Moody.

²² Kenneth LEVY, “Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul”, *Early Music History*, vol. 4 (1984), pp. 49-99; reprinted in id., *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 31-81.

²³ I owe this information to Giacomo Baroffio (personal communication).

shortened version of that found in the Iberian Peninsula. It dates certainly before 732, for its incipit already appears in the Visigothic Orationale of Verona; it is, moreover, common to the two Hispanic liturgical traditions.²⁴ It is freely based on versicles 9-12, 15, 52-53 and 58-59. The text is given below, keeping the original orthography and capitalization, but with punctuation added (the common Hispanic-Gregorian passages are shown in italics):

*Conclusit vias meas inimicus. Insidiator factus est mīci, sicut leo in absconditis; semitam meam subvertit et confregit me. Tetendit arcum suum et posuit me, quasi signum ad sagittam; replevit et inebriavit me amaritudine. Conprehenderunt me inimici mei sine causa, quasi avem in muscipula; deduxerunt in lacu mortis vitam meam, et posuerunt lapidem contra me. Vide, domine, iniquitates eorum, et iudica causam anime mee, defensor vite mee.*²⁵

(My enemy has shut off my ways. He is waiting to pounce on me, like a lion in his hiding places. He has subverted my path and shattered me. He has stretched his bow and laid me low. He has made me the target for his arrow. He has made me drunk with bitterness. My enemies have bound me without cause like a bird in a trap. They have led my life to the pit of death and set a rock against me. See, lord, their iniquities, and for the sake of my soul judge them, oh guardian of my life!)²⁶

²⁴ The Orationale now in Verona, Bibl. Capit., MS 89, was copied in Tarragona certainly before 732, and presumably before 711: cf. Louis BROU, «L'Antiphonaire wisigothique et l'Antiphonaire grégorien au début du VIII^e siècle», *Anuario musical*, vol. V (1950), pp. 3-10; shorter version in Higinio ANGLÉS (ed.), *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra (Roma, 25-30 Maggio 1950)*, Tournai: Desclée, 1952, pp. 183-86. According to Dom Michael RANDEL, *An Index to the Chant of the Mozarabic Rite*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973, pp. 246-47, this chant occurs in the Orationale under the form of an incipit and was written complete, with its music, only in the antiphoner León, Arch. Catedral, MS 8, fol. 155v-56r (representative of tradition A), and in Madrid, BN, ms. 10.110 (*olim* Toledo Cat. 35.2), fol. 101v (representative of tradition B). The León antiphoner dates from the first half of the 10th century (L. BROU, *ibid.*). The Toledo codex has been dated between c. 1250 and 1325 (Anscari M. MUNDÓ, «La datación de los códices litúrgicos visigóticos toledanos», *Miscelanea en memoria de Dom Mario Férotin, 1914-1964*, Madrid-Barcelona: C.S.I.C., n.d., pp. 529-53 [530-36]). According to Jordi PINELL («El problema de las dos tradiciones del antiguo rito hispánico», *Liturgia y música mozarabes*, Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigotico-Mozarabes, 1978, pp. 3-44), tradition B was possibly established in one of Toledo's parishes, Stas. Justa y Rufina, around 1150 by a Christian community which fled religious intolerance then growing in Morocco.

²⁵ Both manuscripts have *mīci* and *lacu* instead of *michi* and *lacum*. The Toledo codex also has *replebit*, *inebriabit*. The León antiphoner has *inebriabit, sine causam, iudica causa, anime me*: cf. Louis BROU & José VIVES, *Antifonario Visigótico Mozárabe de la Catedral de León. Edición del texto, notas e índices por —*, Barcelona-Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1959 [Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, serie litúrgica, Vol. V/1], p. 251. The verse used in mainstream Hispanic liturgy (tradition A) is *Cogitaberunt verbum in comprehensione mea. Domine, tu nosti cogitationes eorum* (They have woven a plot to seize me. Lord, you know their conspiracies). Its origin remains unidentified, and although it recalls Lamentations, 3.60-62, the text was possibly composed anew to go together with the respond. Toledo's tradition B quotes verbatim versicle 63 and the beginning of the following one: *Sessionem eorum et resurrectionem eorum vide. Ego sum psalmus eorum. Redde eis vicem domine* (3.63: You see their sitting down, and their rising up; I am their song. 3.64: You will render to them a recompense, Yaweh [...]).

²⁶ English translation kindly provided by Rip Cohen.

Given the early date of the Visigothic Orationale and the close historical links between the Gallican and Old-Hispanic liturgies, the case for a non-Roman origin of the responsory is strongly reinforced. Since it is unlikely that an original Roman or Gallican text, lacking the plural subject of *deduxerunt*, etc., was expanded by the Visigoths, but rather that their original text was shortened in Gaul, it follows that the Hispanic responsory was transformed into a Gallican one; that Gregorian chant retained the Gallican version; and that it was finally transmitted to Rome, where it was reshaped in the local melodic idiom.

Liturgical data accord well with this scenery. In Rome the responsory is sung on Palm Sunday; Visigothic sources assign it to Monday or Tuesday in Holy Week; all three possibilities occur in Gregorian manuscripts. We could suppose a primitive Roman association with Palm Sunday; but late, random, local liturgical variation can not possibly explain the partial coincidence of Gregorian and Visigothic customs. The most plausible sequence of events is that *Conclusit* was an Old-Hispanic responsory in the first place; when it was adopted in Gaul, it retained in some places the original liturgical position, while in others it was given a more prominent one (Palm Sunday). The Gregorian tradition inherited the full variety of Gallican assignments; only the most recent one, Palm Sunday, ended up being transmitted to Rome.

It remains to see whether the music confirms this hypothesis; but before we can test it, we must arrive at a clearer understanding of the Gregorian melody.

II

The responsory presents a stable manuscript tradition as far as melodic contour is concerned, but quite a variety of modal assignment. As remarked by Karp and confirmed by the information presented in Table I below (personally gathered from the sources, collected in the CANTUS index or kindly provided to me by Ike de Loos), modes 6 and 8 have almost identical weight in the copyists' preferences.²⁷ In the east mode 8 predominates, while in the south and southwest mode 6 has the upper hand. Only one manuscript, to my present knowledge, assigns the chant to another mode.²⁸

²⁷ Ike DE LOOS, personal communication (22/10/1998). Id., "The Transmission of the *Responsoria prolixa* According to the Manuscripts of St Mary's Church Utrecht", *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Musiekgeschiedenis*, vol. xlix-1 (1999), pp. 5-31 [11].

²⁸ The CANTUS-index wrongly attributes to the MS Firenze, Arcivescovado, a 2nd-mode melody. Aachen, Domarchiv G 20 ends on D, but the verse adopts the eight responsorial tone, transposed a fifth above. *Protus* sonority is present anyway, irrespective of tonal level. According to Daniel Saulnier (personal communication, 8/10/1997), 'À la fin du répons [...] un certain nombre de manuscrits [avec écriture sur sol] ne descendent pas plus bas que le fa, et utilisent une formule classique du mode archaïque de ré pour conclure'.

Mode	Provenance of MS	Present location and call number(s)	Access: (when not examined <i>in loco</i> or through microfilm) ¹
6	—	Toledo, Bibl. capitular, 44.2	
	— (Cistercian MS.)	Wien, Nationalbibl., 1799	CANTUS-index
	— (Provence?)	Mdina, Cathedral Museum, A	
	[Aragon]	Huesca, Archivo de la Catedral, 2	
	Arles	Paris, BN lat. 1091	
	Arras	Arras, Bibl. mun., 465 (893)	
	Barnwell (use of Sarum)	Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Mm.ii.9	facsimile ed. by Frere
	Benevento	Benevento, Bibl. Cap. V.21	facsimile: PalMus I/22
	Braga	Braga, Arquivo da Catedral, Livros de Coro 10, 31	
	Cambrai	Cambrai, Bibl. mun., 38 (40)	
	Cluny	St. Victor-sur-Rhins, s.c.	
	Firenze	Firenze, Arcivescovado, s.c.	
	Huesca	Huesca, Archivo de la Catedral, 7	
	Gent	Gent, Univ. bibl., 15/1	De Loos
	Klosterneuburg	Klosterneuburg, Aug.-Bibl. 1010/11/13/15/17	CANTUS-index
	Köln	Köln, St. Severinus Pfarrarchiv, II A3	
	Liège?	Durham, Chapter Library, B iii 11	De Loos
	Mainz	Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, codex B	CANTUS-index
	Marseille	Paris, BN lat. 1090	
	Montecassino	Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, 542	
	Montieramey	Paris, BN lat. 796	
	Morimondo (Cistercian MS.)	Paris, BN n.a. lat. 1411	facsimile ed. by Maître

²⁹ Reference is made to the following facsimile editions: *Paléographie musicale*, II^e série, vol. 1, Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1900; W. H. FRERE (ed.), *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, cit.; *Paléographie musicale*, I^e série, vol. 9, Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1906; *Paléographie Musicale*, I^e série, vol. 12, cit.; Ismael F. de la CUESTA (ed.), *Antiphonale Silense, British Library Mss. Add. 30.850*, Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1985; Ike DE LOOS (ed.), *Utrecht Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 406 (3.J.7)*, Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997; Claire MAÎTRE (ed.), *Un antiphonaire cistercien pour le Temporal, XII^e siècle*, Poitiers: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1998; *Paléographie musicale*, I^e série, vol. 22, Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 2001. Additional bibliographical references are to T. KARP, *op. cit.*, and Karl-Werner GÜMPEL, «Gregorianischer Gesang und Musica ficta: Bemerkungen zur spanischen Musiklehre des 15. Jahrhunderts», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 47 (1990), pp. 120-47 = "Gregorian Chant and *musica ficta*: New Observations from Spanish Theory of the Early Renaissance", *Recerca Musicològica*, vol. 6-7 (1986-1987), pp. 5-27. Mention of De Loos refers to personal communication.

	[northern Italy]	Toledo, Bibl. capitular, 48.14	PalMus I/9
	Paris	Paris, BN lat. 15181	CANTUS-index
	Pozzeveri	Lucca, Bibl. Cap. 601	facsimile: PalMus I/9
	[Provence]	Mdina, Cathedral Museum, B	
	Ripoll	Paris, BN lat. 742	
	Salamanca	Salamanca, Catedral, Arch. Mus. 5	CANTUS-index
	Sahagún? > Celanova	Silos, Bibl. Monasterio, 9	
	Silos	London, BL Add. 30850	facsimile ed. by Cuesta
	St. Amand	Valenciennes, Bibl. mun., 114	CANTUS-index
	St. Maur-des-Fossés (Cluniac MS.)	Paris, BN lat. 12044	
	[southern France] (Cluniac MS.)	Solesmes, Rés. 28	
	Stuhlweissenburg	Graz, Univ. Bibl. 211	De Loos
	Tavèrnoles?	Toledo, Bibl. capitular, 44.1	
	Tongres	Tongeren, OLV Kerk, 63	CANTUS-index
	Urgell?	Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya, M. 39	Gümpel
	Utrecht	Utrecht, Univ. Bibl., 406	facs. ed. by de Loos: 1st layer
	Vallombrosa	Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Conv. sopp. 560	
	[Wales]	Aberystwyth, Nat. Libr., 20541 E	CANTUS-index
	Worcester	Worcester, Cathedral Chapter Library, F 160	facsimile: PalMus I/12
	Xanten	Xanten, Stifsarchiv H 104	
7	Pavia	Monza, Bibl. capit., 15/79	
8	— (Franciscan MS.)	Assisi, Bibl. comunale, 693/ 694	CANTUS-index
	— (Franciscan MS.)	Assisi, Arch. Catt., 5	CANTUS-index
	— (Franciscan MS.)	Budapest, Univ. Libr., lat. 118	CANTUS-index
	— (Franciscan MS.)	Chicago, Newberry Libr., 24	CANTUS-index
	— (Franciscan MS.)	Fribourg, Bibl. Cordeliers, 2	CANTUS-index
	— (Franciscan MS.)	München, St. Anna-bibl., 12° Cmm 1	CANTUS-index
	— (Franciscan MS.)	Napoli, Bibl. naz., vi.E.20	CANTUS-index
	— (Franciscan MS.)	Roma, Bibl. Ap. Vat., lat. 8737	CANTUS-index
	Aachen	Aachen, Domarchiv G 20	
	Aosta	Aosta, Bibl. del Sem. magg., 6	CANTUS-index
	Augsburg	München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 4303	CANTUS-index
	Bamberg	Bamberg, Staatsbibl. lit. 25	CANTUS-index
	Einsiedeln	Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl., 611	CANTUS-index

	Esztergom	Istanbul, Topkapi S. Müzesi, D. 42	CANTUS-index
	Havelberg	Berlin, Staatsbibl. MS theol. lat. fol. 139	edition in Karp
	Kirnberg	Wien, Diözesanarchiv, C-11	CANTUS-index
	Kranj	Ljubljana, Archiep. Arch., 17	CANTUS-index
	Kremsmünster	Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibl., 290 (183)	CANTUS-index
	Limoges (St. Martial)	Paris, BN lat. 743	
	Limoges (St. Martial)	Paris, BN lat. 783	
	Limoges	Paris, BN lat. 784	
	Limoges (St. Martial)	Paris, BN lat. 1085	CANTUS-index
	Metz	Metz, Bibl. mun. 83	
	Nevers	Paris, BN lat. 1236	
	Piacenza	Piacenza, Bibl. Capit. 65	CANTUS-index
	Quedlinburg	Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40047	De Loos
	Roma > Norcia	Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana C.5	CANTUS-index
	St. Denis	Paris BN lat. 17296	
	Salzburg	Vorau, Stiftsbibl., 287 (29)	CANTUS-index
	Sankt-Gallen	Sankt Gallen, 390-391 [Hartker antiphoner]	facsimile: PalMus II/1
	Sens	Paris BN lat. 1028	
	Sens	Paris, BN n.a.lat. 1535	CANTUS-index
	Sens	Sens, Bibl. mun., 29	Karp
	Steiermark	Graz, Universitätsbibl. 29/30	CANTUS-index
	Tours	Tours, Bibl. mun., 149	CANTUS-index
	Utrecht	Utrecht, Univ. Bibl., 406	fac. ed. by de Loos: 2nd layer
	Utrecht	Utrecht, Univ. bibl., 404 /7/8	De Loos
	Weingarten	Stuttgart, Württemb. Landesbibl. HB.I.55	CANTUS-index
	Zwiefalten	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. LX	CANTUS-index

Table I. Modal classification of responsory *Conclusit vias meas inimicus* in surveyed sources.

This is only the beginning. Hesitation between the 6th and 8th modes, as seen in Utrecht, leaves its mark also in Metz, where a respond ending on F is given an 8th-tone verse. At Arras, the respond ends on G, yet a 6th-tone verse follows. Many copyists who assign the responsory to the 6th mode transpose it, or part of it, a fifth above the normal pitch range, thus arriving at C-final instead of F-final (Table II).

Final note	Provenance of MS	Present location and call number	Observations
F	Arles	Paris, BN lat. 1091	
	Benevento	Benevento, Bibl. Cap. V.21	
	Braga	Braga, Arquivo da Catedral, Livros de Coro 10, 31	with [E] flats added in red
	Köln	Köln, St. Severinus Pfarrarchiv, II A3	
	Marseille	Paris, BN lat. 1090	
	Montieramey	Paris, BN lat. 796	
	[Provence]	Mdina, Cathedral Museum, B	
	St. Maur-des-Fossés (Cluniac MS.)	Paris, BN lat. 12044	
	[southern France] (Cluniac MS.)	Solesmes, Rés. 28	
G	Arras	Arras, Bibl. mun., 465 (893)	starts: F to C
C	— (Provence?)	Mdina, Cathedral Museum, A	
	Barnwell (use of Sarum)	Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Mm.ii.9	
	Cambrai	Cambrai, Bibl. mun., 38 (40)	
	Cluny	St. Victor-sur-Rhins, s.c.	
	Firenze	Firenze, Arcivescovado, s.c.	
	Morimondo (Cistercian MS.)	Paris, BN n.a. lat. 1411	
	Pozzeveri	Lucca, Bibl. Cap. 601	
	Utrecht	Utrecht, Univ. Bibl., 406	First layer
	Vallombrosa	Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Conv. sopp. 560	
	Worcester	Worcester, Cathedral Chapter Library, F 160	
	Xanten	Xanten, Stifsarchiv H 104	

Table II. Choice of final note in 6th-mode diastematic sources.

Furthermore, when we begin to compare melodic readings, we realize that most copyists, irrespective of modal preference or final note, resort to transposition at one or more points, choosing different solutions and splitting spots. In the following, I tried to synthetize the tonal behaviour of the melody according to thirty-seven diastematic manuscripts, compared against the Braga version presented earlier (Ex. 1).

Given that melodic reality is given by a succession of intervals, rather than the names of their boundary notes, and considering that intervals can be represented on a reticulated surface as distances between points, all the notated versions are thought of as if coinciding in their tonal level at the beginning of the chant: thus, a C-B-A-G or a F-E-D-C initial descending tetrachord is put at the same level as Braga's B flat-A-G-F tetrachord. The tonal level in Braga (and in every source's incipit) is imagined as a straight horizontal line. When the melody is transposed in each source to a tonal level other than the incipit's (the line corresponding to the Braga version), this level is accordingly imagined at the distance of one to five degrees, up or down, from the base line. Seventeen transposition points are identified and numbered. The behaviour of individual manuscripts is recorded in the commentary to each transposition point; only the antiphoner from Monte Cassino and Toledo 44.2 are excluded from the commentary, because their tonal shape never departs from Braga's. The description is cumulative, i.e., if a manuscript is said to jump a fourth at a certain point, having jumped a second beforehand, it means that from that point onwards it is notated a fifth above the initial tonal level. For instance, Köln begins at the C-final level, raises the word *factus* by a second from point 2 onwards, returns to C at 4, jumps a fifth at *deduxerunt* (point 7) and finally goes down a second at *vitae* (point 15), thus ending on F, a fourth above the starting level (Ex. 3).

⁰/ Conclusit vias meas ¹/ inimicus insidiator ²/ fac- ³/tus ⁴/ est ⁵/ mi- ⁶/hi sicut leo [...] amaritudine
⁷/ deduxerunt [...] lapidem ⁸/ con- ⁹/tra me ¹⁰/ Vide domine iniquitates il- ¹¹/lorum et ¹²/ judica
causam ¹³/ ani- ¹⁴/-mae meae defensor ¹⁵/ vitae ¹⁶/ me- ¹⁷/-ae.

Nr.	Description
0	Initial tetrachord notated between B flat and F (F-final level): Arles, Cluniac processional, Cluny, Marseille, Mdina B, Monte Cassino, Montieramey, Sens, St. Martial (783), St. Maur. Initial tetrachord notated between F and C (C-final level): Arras, Barnwell, Cambrai, Firenze, Köln, Lucca, Mdina A, Metz, Morimondo, St. Denis, Utrecht, Vallombrosa, Worcester. Initial tetrachord notated between C and G (G-final level): Aachen, Havelberg, Limoges, Nevers, Pavia, Xanten. No clef: Aragón, Benevento, Celanova, Huesca, Ripoll, St. Martial (743), Tavèrnoles, Toledo 44.2.
1	Nevers, which started at the G-final level, drops to F-final level.
2	Nevers returns to the G-final level. MSS from St. Martial (743, 783) and Sens jump a third. Aachen, Aragón, Arles, Arras, Barnwell, Benevento, Cambrai, Celanova, the Cluniac processional, Cluny, Firenze, Havelberg, Huesca, Köln, Limoges, Lucca, Metz, Montieramey, Morimondo, Pavia, Ripoll, St. Denis, St. Maur, Utrecht, Vallombrosa, Worcester and Xanten jump a second.
3	Mdina B jumps a second.
4	Aachen, Aragón, Arles, Arras, Barnwell, Benevento, Cambrai, Celanova, Firenze, Havelberg, Huesca, Köln, Limoges, Lucca, Metz, Montieramey, Morimondo, Pavia, Ripoll, Sens, St. Denis, St. Martial (743, 783), Utrecht, Vallombrosa, Worcester and Xanten go down a second.
5	Montieramey jumps a second. Ripoll goes down a second; St. Martial (743) apparently does the same.
6	Arles jumps a second.
7	Köln jumps a fifth.

8	Barnwell, Metz and St. Martial (783) jump a second.
9	Cambrai, Mdina A, Morimondo and St. Denis jump a second.
10	Barnwell, Cambrai, the Cluniac processional, Mdina A, Metz, Morimondo, St. Denis and St. Maur drop a second. Ripoll goes down a fourth.
11	Marseille goes up a second.
12	Aragón goes up a second.
13	Cluny goes up a fourth. Tavèrnoles goes up a fourth (or may be a fifth). Aachen, Arras, Metz, St. Denis and Xanten go up a fifth.
14	Xanten goes down a second.
15	Arles, Köln, Limoges, Marseille, Montieramey and St. Martial (783) drop a second.
16	Mdina B and Metz drop a second.
17	Tavèrnoles goes down a second. Limoges and St. Martial (783) go up a second.

Ex. 3: Shifts in the notated level of the *Conclusit* melody.

This situation, where overall tonal shape is sacrificed by short-range editing, is clearly anomalous. The transposition strategies observed must be the *ad-hoc* response to some existing problem. But this response, too, may create incoherence or other kinds of problems, whose solution will in turn increase notational creativity. In Metz the *repetendum*, after the verse, is written a second above its first presentation, while in Arles it is written a second below; this seems to have been tolerable. The partial transpositions at Cluny end up extending the chant's tonal range to almost two octaves; the selected singers of the great Abbey could probably cope with this, but elsewhere, in lesser monastic communities, the case may have been different. At Ripoll, writing the section corresponding to the *repetendum*, before the verse, down a fourth, seems to be an attempt to keep the ambitus under control.

Aside from the layered, cumulative character of the evidence, there is a single explanation for the wide variety of notational strategies encountered: the standard Guidonian gamut did not allow an adequate transcription of the melody; its pitch-vocabulary, as Karp concluded, must have been problematically rich.

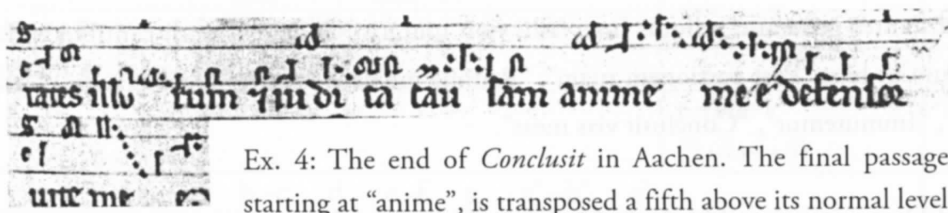
If we limit ourselves to the chant books, it will not always be easy to establish a common ground for their disagreements, let alone identify the specific problem behind them. As Karp remarks, "the MSS present a confusing account of *Conclusit vias meas*". Fortunately we can ask some theorists for help. I counted seven theoretical statements acknowledging the peculiar melodic behaviour of *Conclusit*, which I reproduce below in rough chronological order, from c. 1100 to the late 15th century, with slight editing of my own to allow easier comparison.

With one possible exception, the theoretical statements concerning the unusual nature of the melody are clarified and corroborated by the notated manuscript evidence. I will now comment on them, making use of the additional data presented in the examples.

1. John of Afflighem [= John Cotton] (c. 1100)³⁰

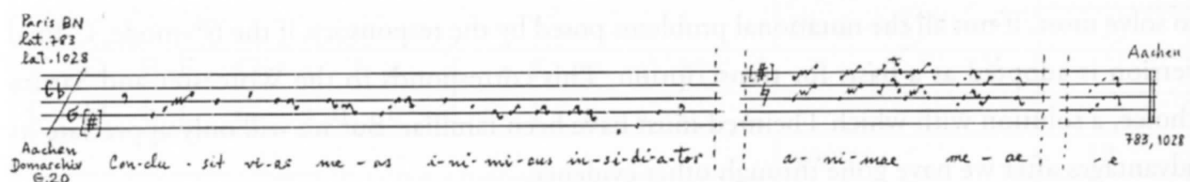
Iam vero manifestum est quod durae hominum voces et incompositae semitonia quam maxime devitant; qui autem flexibiles habent voces, semitoniis plurimum gaudent, eo usque ut etiam ibi aliquotiens semitonia depromant, ubi depromenda non sunt, quemadmodum patet in multis quarti toni antiphonis [...] Simili modo quidam delinquant in R/. “Conclusit vias meas”, semitonia sonantes ubi non sunt, videlicet in illis dictionibus “inimicus insidiator”. Idem R/. plerique in fine confundunt, quia “animae meae”, quod in mese [.a.] est incipiendum, in nete diezeugmenon [.e.] incipiunt.

John of Afflighem criticizes those singers who place semitones where the Guidonian system does not surmise them: at *inimicus insidiator*, they sing a low F sharp, and at *animae meae*, a high F sharp. This presupposes that the responsory begins with the descending fourth C-G and ends on the upper D, which is exactly what happens in the tradition of Aachen, as recorded in the antiphoner G.20 (Ex. 4).



Ex. 4: The end of *Conclusit* in Aachen. The final passage, starting at “anime”, is transposed a fifth above its normal level.

The solution hinted at would be to start with the descending fourth B flat-F, and finish on G, which is what happens in at least two other antiphoners, originated at Limoges and Sens (Paris, BN lat. 783; Paris, BN lat. 1028). The passages quoted by John are presented in Ex. 5, where a hypothetical melodic version corresponding to the earliest neumatation is written at the alternative levels implied by his discussion.



Ex. 5: A melodic companion to John's theoretical discussion.

³⁰ JOHANNIS AFFLIGEMENSIS, *De Musica cum Tonario*, ed. J. Smits VAN WAESBERGHE, Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950 [Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, vol. 1], pp. 137-38. English translation: *Hucbald, Guido and John on Music — Three Medieval Treatises*, Claude V. PALISCA (ed.) & Warren BABB (trans.), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978, pp. 149-50.

2. Theinred of Dover (mid- or late 12th century?)³¹

Prima et quarta																		
			e	f	g	a	h	c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c	d	e	.1.
			e	f	g	a	b	c	d	e ^[b]	f	g	a	b	c	d	e	.11.
		d	e	f	g	a	h	c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c	d	.2.	
		d	e	f	g	a	b	c	d	e ^[b]	f	g	a	b	c	d	.12.	
	c	d	e	f	g	a	h	c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c	.3.		
	c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c	d	e ^[b]	f	g	a	b	c	.13.		

Duarum [transposiciones]:

Prima [societas] vero et tertia vel communiter, omnes [ordo] diapason cum diatessaron; prima et secunda [societates], vel prima et quarta bis diapason; duas in uno octochordo varietates solo tono distantes generant, reliquis intervallis non mutatis. Unde eiusmodi cantibus ordinem distinguo ut hijs: “Post passionem suam”, “Redime me deus Israel”, “Deus exaudi”, “Adorate deum”, “Immutemur”, “Conclusit vias meas”.

Theinred of Dover, in spite of his intimidating style, ends up being quite clear: he puts *Conclusit* in the class of chants which have an octave with two mobile tones a fourth apart.³² The superimpositions that, according to him, produce such a kind of octave are illustrated in Example 6 below.

The grid which precedes Theinred’s explanation presents in full the possibilities generated by the superimposition of the first and fourth scalar combinations and is therefore particularly apt, since a double octave based on low C, having two kinds of B and two kinds of E above it, allows one to solve most, if not all the notational problems posed by the responsory, if the 6th-mode, C-final version is adopted as a basis for transcription. This corresponds to the Worcester and Sarum choice, a solution with which Theinred must have been familiar. But we will only appreciate its advantages after we have gone through other evidence.

³¹ THEINREDUS DOVERENSIS, *Musica*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 842 (S.C. 2575), liber tercius, fol. 35v, published on-line in *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* at <http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/12th/TDMUS3> (Accessed in 18/10/98). When this article was in press, the full critical edition by John L. SNYDER, *Theinred of Dover’s De legitimis ordinibus pentachordorum et tetrachordorum*, Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2006, became available.

³² For a general presentation of Theinred’s work, see John SNYDER, “Non-diatonic Tones in Plainsong: Theinred of Dover versus Guido d’Arezzo”, *Actes du XIIIe Congrès de la Société Internationale de Musicologie*, vol. 2, Strasbourg, 1986, pp. 49-67.

<p>Theinred of Dover: example of bifurcated scalar constructions with double semitone relocation, using scales on C, each with two consecutive conjunct tetrachords of the same species, their superimposition generating an octave with two mobile tones a fourth apart.</p>		
Ambitus and superimpositions	<i>Societas</i> (combination of pentachords and tetrachords of the same species)	<i>Species</i> (relative to given ambitus)
<i>Diapason cum diatessaron, prima et tertia societates:</i>		
C D E-F G a h-c d e-f	<i>prima</i> (5+4+4)	3
C D E-F G a-b c d -e ^b f	<i>tercia</i> (4+4+5)	9
[F G a <u>b</u> h c d <u>e^b</u> e f]		
<i>Bis diapason, prima et secunda societates:</i>		
	<i>prima</i> (5+4+4+5)	3
C D E-F G a h-c d e-f g a' -b' c'		
C D E-F G a h-c d e f [♯] -g a' h' -c'		
	<i>secunda</i> (5+5+4+4)	7
[c d e <u>f</u> [♯] g a' <u>b'</u> h' c']		
<i>Bis diapason, prima et quarta societates:</i>		
	<i>prima</i> (5+4+4+5)	3
C D E-F G a h-c d e-f g a' -b' c'		
C D E-F G a-b c d -e ^b f g a' -b' c'		
	<i>quarta</i> (4+4+5+5)	13
[G a <u>b</u> h c d <u>e^b</u> e f g]		

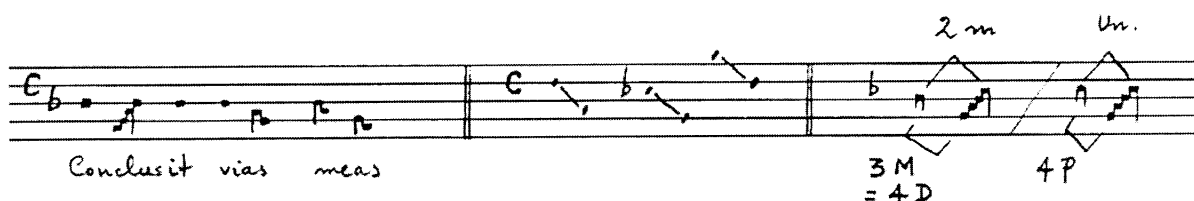
Ex. 6: Theinred's octave with two mobile tones a fourth apart.

3. Berkeley Anonymous [= Goscalcus] (1350-1385)³³

Quinta coniuncta accipitur inter .G. gravem et .a. acutam, et signatur in .a. signo b, ubi dicitur *fa* [...]; de hac habetur exemplum in responsorio “Conclisit < ubi dicitur conclisit (Lo) > vias meas”, et in diversis aliis (Bk)/ sic de aliis (Lo)/ pluribus cantibus (Ct).

Exemplum (Bk): *see Ex. 7 below*

Sexta coniuncta accipitur inter .c. et .d. acutas [...] Et incipit eius deduccio in .a. acuta [...] ut patet in exemplo “Conclisit vias meas” (Ct).



Ex. 7: Goscalcus' example and alternative incipits in chant sources.

The author of the Berkeley treatise inaugurates here the discourse on the *conjunctae*, seen as a way to integrate peculiar aspects of chant practice into the post-Guidonian theoretical edifice. For long the theory of *conjunctae*, that is the expansion of the hexachordal system which allowed to embrace sharpened and flattened notes so far considered irregular, was regarded as irrelevant for the understanding of good old Gregorian chant; it must merely have been, so we were told, a late attempt either to explain away the marks of corruption that polyphonic practice had left on ecclesiastical monody, or to bring the latter in line with current fashion. It is true that polyphonic practice influenced the performance of plainchant. But in past decades it has become increasingly clear that the late Medieval and early Renaissance theorists knew very well how to distinguish the domain of counterpoint from that of monodic chant; in their discussion they often tell us which kind of repertory they have in mind, revealing that the *conjunctae* were a response to the needs both of the *cantor* (even a conservative one) and of the polyphonic singer.³⁴

³³ *The Berkeley Manuscript*, University of California Music Library, MS. 744 (olim *Phillipps 4450*), ed. and trans. by Oliver B. ELLSWORTH, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1984 [Greek and Latin Music Theory, vol. 2], pp. 60-61.

³⁴ D. PESCE, *op. cit.*; Karl-Werner GÜMPPEL, «Zur Frühgeschichte der vulgärsprachlichen spanischen und katalanischen Musiktheorie», *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, Erste Reihe: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, 24. Band, ed. Johannes VINCKE, Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968, pp. 257-336; id., «Gregorianischer Gesang und Musica ficta», *cit.*, pp. 136-37, 142 = “Gregorian Chant and *musica ficta*”, *cit.*, pp. 17, 23.

What the Berkeley Anonymous apparently tells us about *Conclusit* is, in short, that it includes the A flat, and also (if we take the example and manuscript *Lo* at face value) that it begins with a diminished fourth between the upper A flat and E. He seems to assume that the melody continues afterwards at the tonal level of F-final. Of course the diminished fourth cannot be normally written according to medieval convention, and neither has it been found so far, in the chant books consulted. What can be found is that the incipit is written at one of three tonal levels, always with the outline of a perfect fourth with its semitone at the top, between C and G, F and C, or B flat and F (Ex. 7). Karp was so keen to conflate Goscalcus' example with Theired's scheme and the testimony of practical sources that he was led to interpret the theorist as implying an initial perfect fourth between A-flat and E-flat. The manuscript *Ct*, in Ellworth's edition of the treatise, implies that the responsory could also be written in such a way as to require a high C sharp; if this applied to the incipit, a descending fourth between upper D and A would be implied. But since the example is another chant, this may be just a confusion of the copyist.

The only possible traces of a diminished fourth at the start of the responsory are, for one, the unstable tonal level of the beginning relative to the following passage, and secondly, the variation in the chant sources, which seemingly hesitate between a major third and a perfect fourth at the beginning: a major third would keep the boundaries of an initial, hypothetical diminished interval before its decomposition into tones and semitones, while a perfect fourth would keep the melodic contour of the intonation. However, each of these phenomena may be explained otherwise,³⁵ and therefore a big question mark hovers above Goscalcus' observation, unless we either choose to regard this passage as corrupt, or find an alternative solution.

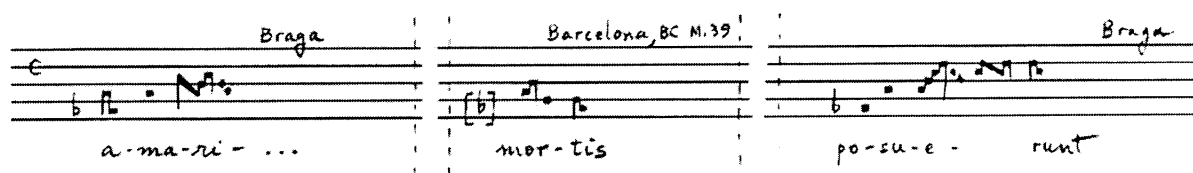
The example is, in fact, probably erroneous, since all the diastematic sources consulted require that the incipit be written a second above the level it is presented in the treatise. Textual corruption is a strong hypothesis, for nothing seems to corroborate the proposed placement of the A flat; the rationale for the error could have been the textual confusion between "concluit" and a three-syllable passage starting with "con-" (such as "contra me"). However, the Mont-Renaud manuscript and the Hartker antiphoner, from the tenth-century, suggest an alternative hypothesis: they both have a quilisma over "-clu-", where it would apparently coincide with a major third. Since the quilisma is normally associated with a minor third, a plausible solution for the inconsistency

³⁵ The principle of tonal homogeneity accounts for the substitution of core tones for secondary tones, even when this replacement widens the interval to sing, requiring extra energy: thus the alignment of the first note with the following tonal axis, higher by a semitone, would compensate the substitution of a fourth for a major third. Alternatively, taking into account the fact that the first interval is a descending one, a fourth could slide down by a semitone to spare some vocal energy at the beginning (these explanatory principles are taken from the theory of melodic change expounded in Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, "Music at Cluny: The Tradition of Gregorian Chant for the Proper of the Mass. Melodic Variants and Microtonal Nuances" [Ph. D. diss., Princeton University, 1997], ProQuest 9809172, pp. 141-50). The unstable tonal level of the *incipit* as a whole can be a consequence of the need to accommodate first a lower semitone, and then a whole tone below the final degree.

is to suppose an A flat as the upper note of the quilisma, which would then form a minor third with the lower F. This would fit Goscalcus' remark, the neumatic evidence and the diastematic evidence regarding the intervals involving other A notes; but cannot be proved.

4. Fernand Estevan (1410)³⁶

La *tercera* conjuncta se signa en .e.-la-mi grave por b mol & toma su ut en .B.mol grave, así que desimos en .e.-la-mi, fa [...] E aun se prueba por aquel *responsorio* del dia de ramos que se dize "Conclisit vias meas" do dize "amaritudine", por que en la primera silaba se cõtiene fa e mi en .e.-la-mi, estóces fazemos la en .g.-sol-re-ut grave. E pruevase en otra diçion deste mesmo *responsorio* do dize "mortis". E pruevase aun por otro diçio deste mesmo *responsorio* do dize "posuerunt", por que en la primera silaba se dize fa en .e.-la-mi grave.

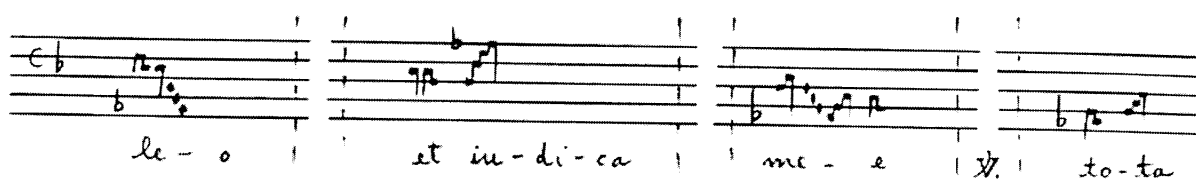


Ex. 8: Passages quoted by Estevan.

Fernand Estevan tells us that the responsory uses the E-flat on three occasions. His remark corresponds to two of six E-flats found in the Braga choirbooks, as you can see in Example 8. The passage on *mortis* is, together with *leo*, *amaritudine*, *posuerunt* and the final *mee*, one where there is a disagreement of contour in the larger manuscript tradition, and accordingly, the final descent does not occur in Braga (its only significant deviation from the contour of the respond as it appears in Toledo 44.2); the corresponding passage in a Catalonian cantoral is given instead. The presence of E-flats (which could be up to seven, if Braga is taken into account: see Ex. 9) explains why so many sources with a 6th-mode version of the responsory transpose it up a fifth, where the lower E-flat can be notated as B-flat.³⁷ This anomaly also lies behind both the suppression of the E notes at the points signaled above, and the presence of short-range internal transpositions found in many manuscripts which understandably, for lack of a reasonable explanation, put Karp on the verge of a nervous attack. One of these transpositions occurs in Marseille to accommodate Braga's upper E flat on *iudica*.

³⁶ Fernand ESTEVAN, *Reglas de canto plano è de contrapunto è de canto de organo* [Toledo, Biblioteca Pública Provincial, R (Ms) 329], facsimile & ed. by M^a Pilar ESCUDERO GARCÍA, Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto/ Conservatorio Superior de Música de Sevilla, 1984, pp. 90-92.

³⁷ *Leo*: B flat at Arras, Metz, Morimondo, Utrecht. *Amaritudine*: B flat at Cambrai. *Mortis*: B flat at Cambrai, Metz, Morimondo, Utrecht. *Posuerunt*: B flat at Arras, Cambrai, Metz, Morimondo, St. Denis, Worcester, Utrecht. *Mee*: B flat at Cluny.



Ex. 9: Other passages requiring E flat (assuming F final) in Braga.

5. *Cartula de cantu plano* (1350-1400)³⁸

Quarta conjuncta accipitur inter .G. grave et .a. acutam, ut apparet in responso “Conclusit vias meas” in loco qui dicitur “contra me”, post, “Vide domine”, etc. [...] Item octava conjuncta accipitur inter .g. acuta et .a. superacuta, ut apparet si vul<ue>tis cantare “Conclusit vias meas” per dyapason in loco qui dicitur “contra me”.

6. Anonymous XI [> László Szalkai] (1300-1450: the treatise includes different layers, their identification and dating being a matter of dispute)³⁹

Quarta coniuncta accipitur inter .G. finale et .a. acutum, id est inter .G.-sol-re-ut et .a.-la-mi-re, et signatur in .a. acuto per b molle, sic quod ibi canitur fa; ut patet in hac communione “Fidelis servus” [...] Similiter patet in hoc responsorio “Conclusit vias meas”, in loco in quo dicitur “lapidem contra me”, et in locis aliis eiusdem responsorio. Et hoc est verum, si initium sumpserit in .a.-la-mi-re [...]

Si autem in hoc responsorio, scilicet “Conclusit vias”, coniunctam praedictam evitare volueris, incipe ipsum in .c.-sol-fa-ut, quia praedictum responsorium est octavi toni, ergo in .c.-sol-fa-ut incipitur et in .G.-sol-re-ut regulariter debet terminari, ut patet cuilibet subtiliter intuenti.

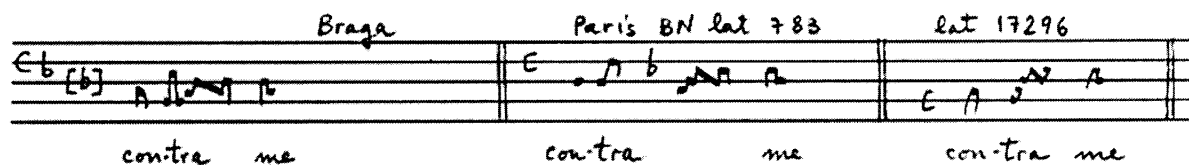
³⁸ *Cartula de cantu plano* [Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 883, fols. 70v-71v], ed. in Karl-Werner GÜMPPEL, “Gregorian Chant and *musica ficta*”, cit., pp. 24-27; also published as «Gregorianischer Gesang und Musica ficta», cit., pp. 144-47. On the date and transmission context of this small treatise, see Christian MEYER, «Un témoin de la réception méridionale des traditions d’enseignement du nord aux XIVe et XVe siècles: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 883», *Anuario musical*, 58 (2003), pp. 9-59.

³⁹ Richard J. WINGELL, “Anonymous XI (CS III): An Edition, Translation, and Commentary”, 3 vols. (Ph. D. diss., University of Southern California, 1973), I, pp. 32-33; the text of the treatise was published on-line in *T.M.L.* at <http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/15th/ANO11TDM>. See also Anonymous XI, *Tractatus de Musica Plana et Mensurabili*, in *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi, novam seriem*, ed. Edmond de COUSSEMAKER, Tomus III, Paris, 1869, repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963, pp. 427-28. This passage reappears in László Szalkai’s notebook of 1490, edited by Dénes BARTHA (cf. D. PESCE, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84, 93-94; László DOBSZAY, *A History of Hungarian Music*, Budapest: Corvina, 1993, pp. 57, 221).

7. Seville Anonymous (c. 1480)⁴⁰

Otra Regla para conocer la tercera conjunta: Todo canto que se cantare por bemol & descindiere de .ge.-sol-re-ut, o de .fe.-fa-ut, a .e.-la-mi o a .de.-sol-re, e luego tornare a bemol, tal canto se cantará por la tercera conjunta. Si descindiere de .ge.-sol-re-ut a .e.-la-mi, diremos *re/la, fa*; así como hallareys en un responso de los maytines del domingo de ramos que dize “Conclusit vias meas”, que es sexto tono [...]

Regla para conocer la quinta conjunta: Todo canto que subiere de .ge.-sol-re-ut <a> .a.-la-mi-re, & en aquel .a.-la-mi-re toviere un punto doblado que se llama “alfa duplex intensum et remis<s>um tonicum”, tal canto se cantará por la quinta conjunta; así como hallareys en la dominica de “in ramis palmarum” en un *responsorio* que dize “Con<cl>usit vias meas” en la parte que dize “contra me”. Esta conjunta se halla pocas vezes en el canto llano & aun en el canto de organo.



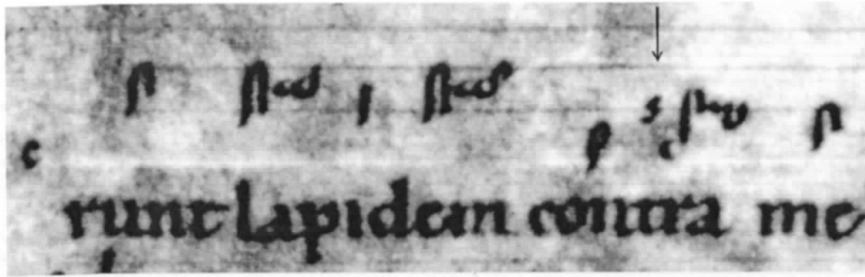
Ex. 10: Passages quoted in the *Cartula*/Anon. XI/Seville Anon.

Finally, the author of the *Cartula*, together with Anonymous XI and the Seville Anonymous, all refer to the presence of A-flats in the 6th-mode, F-final version of *Conclusit* (Ex. 10). The Seville Anonymous is the more complete, for he also speaks of low E-flats, thus confirming Theinred's observation of a double *pien* (movable notes) a fourth apart. Contrary to the Berkeley Anonymous, however, the quoted A-flat passage is not the beginning of *Conclusit*, but rather at the words *contra me*.⁴¹ And in fact, this particular passage appears transposed in many sources in order to keep its intervallic nature; transposition by a second allows the upper degree of the semitone to coincide with B flat (written in Aachen, Cluny, Köln, Limoges, Montieramey, St. Martial, St. Maur and Xanten) or F (when the melody is written at the C-final level). The copyist of antiphoner Utrecht 406 had a unique means to indicate the A flat at the fifth above, avoiding partial transposition: he wrote a small s (*semitonium*) before the first E in this passage (Ex. 11).⁴²

⁴⁰ Alan D. HASTINGS (ed.), *Text and Concordances of the Tratado de la Musica*: MS. ç.III.23, *Biblioteca del Escorial*, Madrid, 1989: The Hispanic Seminar of Medieval Studies [Spanish Text series, nr. 52], Capítulo X, «De las conjuntas», pp. 29-35 [32-34 (fols. 32r, 33r)].

⁴¹ Anonymous XI refers 'other places in the same responsory'; *factus* is a likely candidate, if he was familiar, as he might be, with a version similar to that found in Toledo 44.2; the upper notes of the liquescence at *mortis* and of those quilismas based on F are other possible locations.

⁴² Fol. 88v. Cf. Ike DE LOOS, "Introduction", in *Utrecht Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 406*, cit., pp. xiv-xv.



Ex. 11. The passage "contra me" in the Utrecht antiphoner.

Anonymous XI tells us furthermore that the way to circumvent this anomaly is to transpose the whole responsory one tone up, transforming, in fact, a 6th-mode chant into an 8th-mode chant. The rationale for the double modal tradition of *Conclusit* is thus explicitly unveiled. The main problem with this transposition is that it creates a potentially intolerable situation at *inimicus insidiator*, as was pointed out by John of Afflighem; the copyists solve this by postponing the transposition until after these words, as John would have preferred, or changing the tonal level of that passage only. Another solution is to end the responsory on D, accommodating both E-flats and A-flats, but creating intervallic problems at the beginning and at *animae meae*, as John also observed.

By way of conclusion, we have discovered that the double modal tradition, the multiple transpositions and the disagreements in the tonal level of a number of passages in the responsory *Conclusit* can all be explained as notational responses to its peculiar melodic nature. This melody, with its strange turns, by and large survived in the performance practice until the Renaissance, pressing the theorists to codify and integrate its rich gamut into their intellectual horizon. The regional variety encountered does not exclude, but on the contrary, presupposes a single melodic model, based on F, of ambiguous modal character. Our findings invalidate, however, Karp's tentative reconstruction. This is not to deny that the melody can be to a large extent reconstructed, taking up Theinred of Dover's suggestion of a C scale with variable low B and variable upper E, corresponding to the mobile Es and As of the F-final version. A hypothetical edition based on the Sankt-Gallen, Mont-Renaud and Silos neumations and the diastematic sources consulted is proposed below (Ex. 12). As a melodic paradigm, it accounts for the most significant changes suffered by this chant when it was forced to fit the Guidonian diastematic grid. The evidence admits a few alternative readings, given above the staff alongside editorial suggestions. Allowance for the variability of a few neumes and notes is, in my view, a small price to pay for a clearer vision of this challenging and long misunderstood melody.

(b)

Conclu- sit vi-as me- as i- ni- mi- cus; in- si- di- a- tor
 fac- tus est mi- chi; si- cut le- o in abs- con-
 di- to; re- ple- vit et i- ne- ri- a- vit me a- ma- ri- tu-
 di- ne; de- du- xe- runt in la- cum mor- tis vi- tam me- am,
 et po- su- e- runt la- pi- dem con- tra me. Vi- de,
 do- mi- ne, i- ni- qui- ta- tem il- lo- rum, et ju- di- ca
 cau- sam a- ni- me me- e, de- fen- sor vi- te me- e.

Ex. 12: The Gregorian responsory *Conclusit vias meas inimicus*, as it may have been known in the Carolingian era.

III

Now that we can confidently sing the respond, in a version as close as possible to its early Gregorian state, its music calls for detailed analysis. We can generally assume that the melodic surface rests on a varied choice of structural degrees and coloring notes, which in turn presuppose an underlying, changeable harmonic grid. The latter seems to be based on two conjunct tetrachords, B-E/E-a (with tetrachord a-d as a possible upper extension), and two complementary pentachords, G-D and C-G (semitones between A-B flat and D-E flat, respectively). These can be chained together, as at (*in*)*sidiator factus est* (assuming the C- E flat version of *factus est*); more often, the lower pentachord appears in combination with the E-a tetrachord, as at *posuerunt*; the upper stands alone at *contra me*. The composer's artistry can be seen in the expressive use of these materials.

The first phrase, *Conclusit vias meas inimicus*, restricts the melodic structure to a major third, C-E; its total range does not exceed a diminished fifth. We can indeed feel Jeremiah's sense of siege. Then, with *insidiator factus est*, the enemy's dark preparation of the final assault is suggested by the plunge into low G and the following ascent, to which the possible introduction of the E flat lends an alarming tone. At *mihi*, the return of the E natural and the luminosity of the

following C-F perfect fourth immediately conveys, as no other means could, Jeremiah's surprise and claim of innocence. The melisma at *leo*, with its quick movement touching the low B flat to rest on the fifth above, clearly portrays the enemy's might; the melodic phrase then returns to the initial degree, C, confirming its semantic completeness. *Replevit* brings a reintonation with it, and *inebriavit me*, an inebriating, high, florid setting; *amaritudine* touches the dark, low B flat again, but it retains a slow, pensive melodic pace; not so at *lacum mortis*, whose unembellished downward movement parallels its sense of unavoidable fate. The low B flat returns at the ponderous *posuerunt*; but *lapidem* hovers above Jeremiah's head, only to fall, we imagine, at *contra me*, whose lamenting tone is underlined by the chromatic effect of E flat and the choice of inconclusive D as the cadential goal. Luminosity returns with an appeal to God, a D-G perfect fourth. The central claim, divine justice, is made audible as such through attainment of the high B flat at *iudica*. A suggestion of divine determination and power comes with the direct, low recitation and melismatic final gesture of *defensor vite mee*. In short, we are dealing here with an emotionally charged, dramatic setting, clearly aimed at capturing the sense of the words, which could not fail to impress and move to tears an attentive medieval audience.

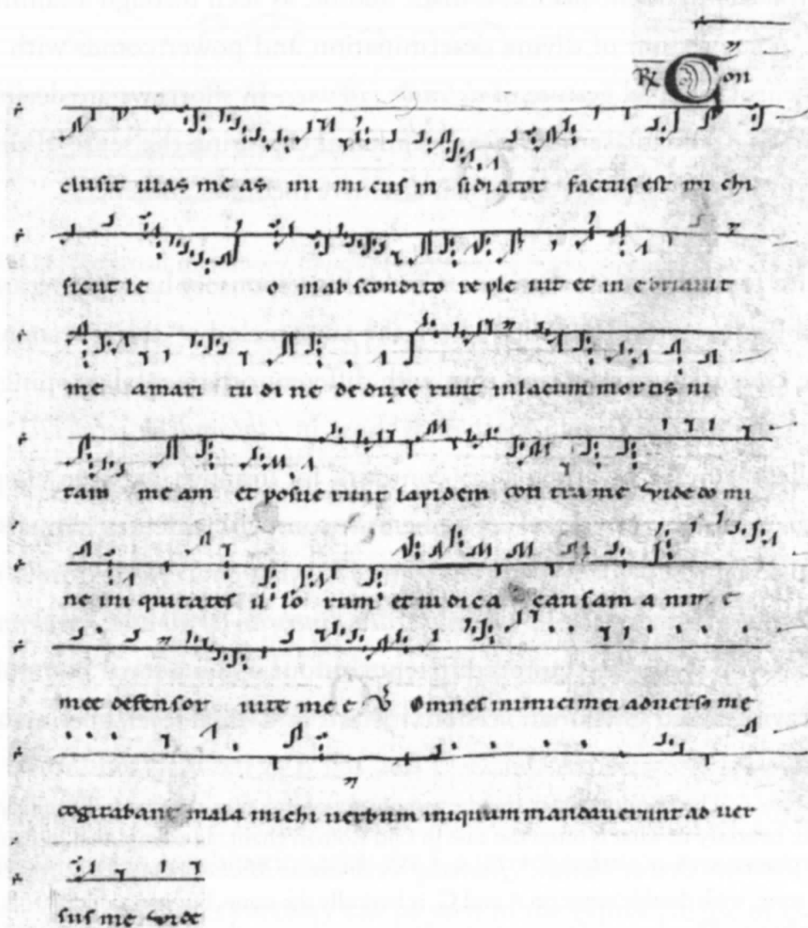
We can now return to the question of origins. Could this responsory have been learnt from Roman singers? The Old Roman antiphoners have both the same melody;⁴³ this is recognizably the same as appears in the Gregorian manuscripts, but with different ornamental trappings (Ex. 13). The florid style, using traditional Roman motives as those in (*abscondi*)to *re(plevit)*,⁴⁴ is much more pervasive, there being almost no articulatory contrasts, for instance, between Gregorian's syllabic (*in*)*sidiator* and the following, dense *mi(chi)*. There are some coincidences in melodic articulation and direction, but the most evident common feature in what concerns texture is the importance of neumatic style and the presence of melismas at *leo*, (*inebriavit*) *me* and (*vite*) *mee*. Passages like *lacum mortis* and *contra me* receive quite a different contour. From a tonal point of view, the tune behaves like a heavily edited Gregorian version: it starts at C-final level, goes up a fifth at *anime*,

⁴³ On the MSS. see note 6. The London codex has the responsory on fol. 60v, the one in Rome, on fol. 90r. Melodic variants are minimal, contrary to what is often the case in Old Roman chant, as exemplified in Paul F. CUTTER, "The Old-Roman Chant Tradition: Oral or Written?", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 20 (1967), pp. 167-81. The responsory tone, with double tenor on A and G, is basically the same, but its second part is more ornamented in the London antiphoner. The choice of tenors is standard: according to the same author, in "The Question of the 'Old-Roman' Chant: A Reappraisal", *Acta musicologica*, vol. 39 (1967), pp. 2-20 [19n], "The bipartite responsory tones have recitation [...] on the 3rd and 2nd [degrees] in the plagal modes in the Old-Roman tradition".

⁴⁴ These two motives occur in the Roman Mass in different kinds of chant: cf. Bruno STÄBLEIN & Margareta LANDWEHR-MELNICKI, *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319* [Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Bd. II], Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970, pp. 75, 239, 377, 482. On the use of the second motif in Roman offertories, see Joseph DYER, "Tropis semper variantibus: Compositional Strategies in the Offertories of Old Roman Chant", *Early Music History*, vol. 17 (1998), pp. 1-60; shorter version in *Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the 9th Meeting, Esztergom & Visegrád, 1998*, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2001, pp. 387-414.

and down a second at *vite mee*; it lacks most of the low (E flat or equivalent) notes, and avoids the semitonal cadence (with A flat or equivalent as the penultimate note) at *contra me*.

In short, even if the strikingly different melodic style is discounted, the Roman version could never have been the source of the Gregorian, for it lacks some characteristic textural details and the distinctive features that singled out *Conclusit* as a problematic piece. On the contrary, it seems that the Romans retained and adapted to their own melodic style a late, impoverished version of the Gregorian melody. This comes as no surprise, for Paul Cutter demonstrated long ago that the Old-Roman antiphoners contain a sizable amount of Gregorian and late responsories.⁴⁵ Large-scale Roman borrowing of Gregorian chant is a possibility that becomes increasingly more attractive to explain the complex relationship between the two repertoires.⁴⁶

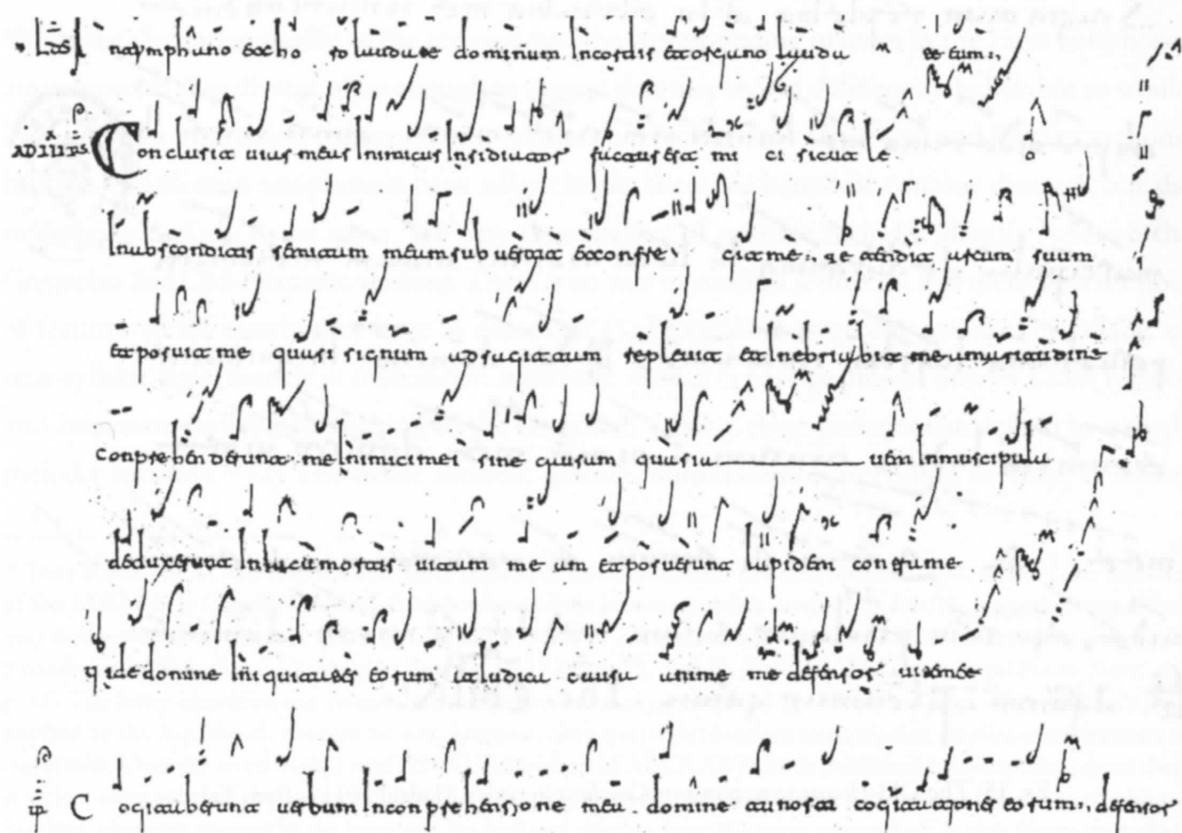


Ex. 13: The responsory *Conclusit* in the Old-Roman antiphoner, Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. San Pietro, B. 79, fol. 90r.

⁴⁵ Paul F. CUTTER, "Oral Transmission of the Old-Roman Responsories?", *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 62 (1976), pp. 182-94.

⁴⁶ Kenneth LEVY, "A New Look at Old Roman Chant" (I, II), *Early Music History*, vol. 19 (2000), pp. 81-104; vol. 20 (2001), pp. 173-97. Id., "Gregorian Chant and the Romans", cit..

If Rome was not the origin of *Conclusit*, could it have come from the European West? The neumations corresponding to the Old-Hispanic traditions A and B are not completely coincidental; compared with the León antiphoner, which uses northern, “vertical” neumes (Ex. 14), Toledo’s manuscript, notated in southern, “horizontal” neumes, has a version which is slightly less florid (Ex. 15), with notationless syllables which suppose single, isolated notes, or a unisonic, syllabic setting;⁴⁷ otherwise, the correspondence is close enough to imply melodic identity. Since the León antiphoner is more explicit and informative, I will use it as a basis for comparison with the Gregorian melody, although occasional reference to the Toledo version is not excluded.



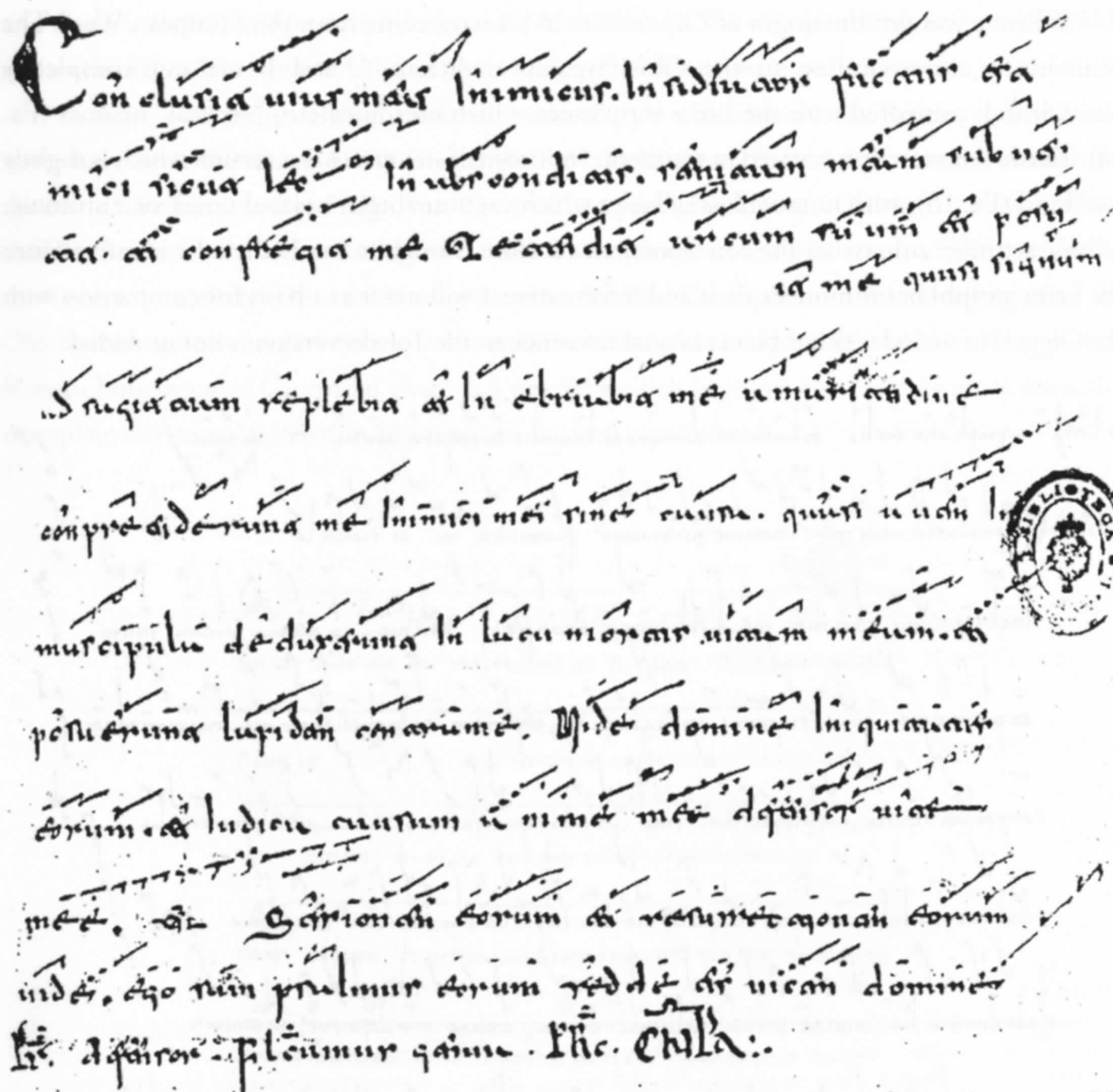
Ex. 14: The Old-Hispanic responsory *Conclusit* in the León antiphoner.

The two Iberian neumations associate the respond of *Conclusit* with different responsory tones, studied and classified by Don Randel.⁴⁸ The Toledo codex has tone K; the León antiphoner, tone B.⁴⁹

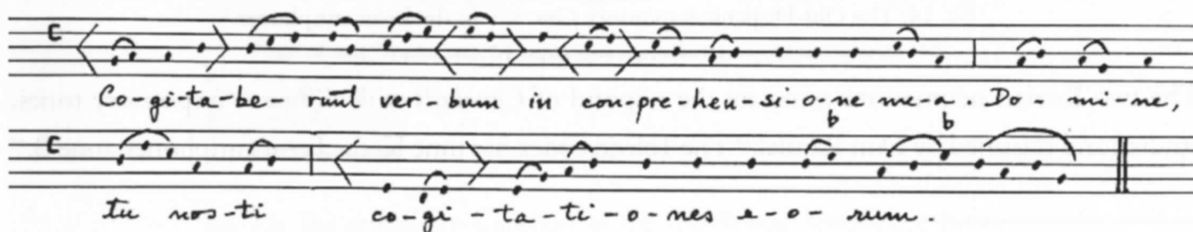
⁴⁷ Louis BROU, «Notes de paléographie musicale mozarabe» [II], *Anuario musical*, vol. X (1955), pp. 23-44.

⁴⁸ Don Michael RANDEL, *The Responsorial Psalm Tones for the Mozarabic Office*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.

⁴⁹ In *id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 132-33, the neumes in Toledo are identified as tone I; however, comparison with Figure 6 at pp. 90-91 and with the remaining occurrences of tone K in the manuscript reveals that this is a mistake. The rare form of the secondary median on fol. 101v can be also found at fol. 36. The reintonation at *Redde eis vicem* marks the beginning of a versicle; as a result, only the last three of four elements in the ending formula are retained.



Ex. 15: The Old-Hispanic responsory *Conclusit* in codex Madrid 10110, from Toledo.



Ex. 16: Melodic reconstruction of the Leonese verse for *Conclusit*.

While tone K is relatively rare, even among Toledo sources, tone B is the most common of the seven tones notated in northern manuscripts. The two are nonetheless related, since every time K occurs in Toledo with a respond entered in the León antiphoner (five cases out of nine), the latter invariably has tone B. This suggests that the Toledo singers treated the respond as belonging to a restricted melodic family, while León saw it as part of a wider vocal sonority. In fact, we can tentatively reconstruct tone B as it would have been sung in León with the verse *Cogitaberunt verbum* (Ex. 16);⁵⁰ the undivided minor third D-F, recitation on A, and the possible occurrence of B flat would have allowed its association with a large array of chants, whether based on D, on F or on G.⁵¹

When the Gregorian profile of the respond and the corresponding neumes in the León antiphoner are compared, they diverge often enough to suggest that they record different melodies; but so would have been the impression concerning the relationship between the Gregorian and Roman versions, had the Old-Roman antiphoners been adiastematic; there the neumatic contour diverges, but the underlying melody is the same. We may thus suspect of possible melodic identity between the Gregorian and Old-Hispanic versions. There is no way to confirm it directly, but there are a number of features which clearly they have in common: (1) Occasional ascending passages of syllabic or near-syllabic style, namely at (*in*)*sidiator*, *inebriavit*, *inimici* (a passage present only in León/Toledo) and *iniquitates* (syllabic in Toledo); in the Gregorian version, these passages correspond to a single melodic formula.⁵² (2) The dense melodic gesture, dominated by ascending motion, at *richi*.

⁵⁰ Tone B was one of two responsorial tones translated into Aquitanian neumes, around 1100, in the *Liber ordinum* of San Millán de la Cogolla (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, código Aemil. 56), fol. 24. It appears transcribed into staff notation in Casiano ROJO & Germán PRADO, *El canto mozárabe. Estudio histórico-crítico de su antigüedad y estado actual*, Barcelona: Diputación Provincial, 1929, p. 73, and D. RANDEL, *The Responsorial Psalm Tones*, cit., p. 66. The latter identified the version in the *Liber ordinum* as typical from the Rioja tradition. The imaginary lines implied by the Aquitanian neumes are not, however, always straight; modern transcription implies some measure of correction. Over the word *mali*, I read ABCG GA instead of ABCA AB in both published transcriptions, since there is a clear alignment of the last note with the following recitation on A. My reconstruction adds, between oblique brackets, elements present in the verse of *Conclusit* and missing from the verse transcribed; it also adapts its melody to the Leonese neumatic profile, over (*ter*)*ram* — punctum G instead of clivis GF —, *ma(li)* — torculus + punctum ACB G instead of scandicus flexus ABCG —, and (*me*)*o(rum)* — pes AB instead of punctum A.

⁵¹ The Aquitanian-notated tone appears as part of a responsory classified in mode I. Analysis of recitation passages in available diastematic readings of Hispanic chant reveals that A was an appropriate degree to insist on when the chant rested on D, on F or on G: cf. Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, “Notation and Psalmody: a Southwestern Connection?”, *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Lillafüred/Hungary, 2004 Aug. 23-28*, Budapest: Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2006, pp. 621-39.

⁵² This formula is incidentally found at the word *filiarum* in the Gregorian offertory *Sanctificavit Moyses*, which has been singled out by Giacomo Baroffio for its neumatic proximity to the corresponding Hispanic *sacrificium* (cf. K. LEVY, “Toledo, Rome, and the Legacy of Gaul”, cit.; Karl OTT & Rupert FISCHER, *Offertoriale Triplex cum versiculis*, Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1985, p. 114); it also appears in two chants which have been identified as Gallican: the introit *Prosperum iter faciat* (transcribed in Bruno STÄBLEIN, «Gallikanische Liturgie», *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Band 4, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955, cols. 1299-1325 [1302]) and the processional antiphon *Cum audisset populus* (transcribed in David HILEY, *Western Plainchant. A Handbook*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, p. 555).

(3) Extended melismas, with similar contours, on *leo* and on the final *mee*. In fact, the Old-Hispanic formula for the melismas starts with a large, tiered descent and continues with a striking ascent, as in the Gregorian melisma on *leo*; its first neumatic gesture fits exactly the Gregorian final melisma. (4) The contour of the Leonese melody over *contra*, which is exactly the same as the contour of the Gregorian *con(tra)*. (5) The contour and descending direction of the passage *lacum mortis*. (6) The relative tonal position of low, single notes (signaled by an oblique stroke in León) at *(abs)con(dito)*, *(amari)tu(di)ne*, *(la)cum*, *(mor)tis*, *po(suerunt)* and *i(ni)quitates*.

These common features concern not only overall neumatic style, but an impressive number of distinctive details; it is impossible that such degree of congruence could have been attained on the basis of two independent melodic settings. In short, demonstrable proximity between the Old-Hispanic and Gregorian versions, at the level of texture, contour and relative height, suggests that we are dealing here with the same underlying melody. In addition, there are indications that its non-differentiation of plagal and authentic ranges, and its modal ambiguity between F and G sonorities, were current in Visigothic chant, which had probably not developed a strong sense of modal identity.⁵³ Taking also into account the likely musical purpose of this particular text, the logical priority of its longer, Old-Hispanic version over the shorter, Gregorian one, and the direct connection between the Old-Hispanic and some Gregorian liturgical assignments, we may safely conclude that the “chant ‘libretto’” discussed above travelled to Gaul with its tune.

As a result of these findings, the statement that “none of the greater responsories of the Gallican Offices is at present known to survive, except for *Descendit de coelis*”, should be revised.⁵⁴ The strange, expressive turns of *Conclusit*, which caused so many notational problems in the late Middle Ages, may have already been present in the Iberian version of the melody; their dramatic effect may even have made its early success. Gallican singers gave the tune its definitive neumatic profile, provided it with a new verse (or verses) and responsorial tone, called for a more substantial *repetendum*, and found a more prominent liturgical position for it, an innovation which was not followed everywhere. During the second half of the 8th century, they resisted newly-introduced Roman taste; at most, they may have shortened the respond and substituted a psalmic verse, *Omnes inimici mei*, for *Factus sum in derisum*, taken from the Lamentations, if any of these changes did not occur before.⁵⁵ The resulting version was later taken to Rome itself, where it went again through a process of melodic revision, which concealed its syllabic formulas and stripped it off of some occasional word-painting and any chromaticism left.

⁵³ D. RANDEL, *The Responsorial Psalm Tones*, cit., p. 100; M. P. FERREIRA, “Notation and Psalmody”, cit.

⁵⁴ M. HUGLO, “Gallican chant”, cit., p. 122 (2nd ed.: p. 469).

⁵⁵ The wording of *Omnes inimici mei*, namely the use of ‘mandaverunt’ (Roman Psalter) instead of ‘constituerunt’ (Hexaplaric or Gallican Psalter) could suggest Roman influence; however, according to Joseph DYER (“Latin Psalters,

Conclisit vias meas inimicus... such was the lament that the likes of Asterix would have sung and upheld against the Roman (musical) enemy, its Hispanic roots notwithstanding. Now, finally, thanks to multiple theoretical testimony and sources as far away from each other as Braga and Utrecht, its exotic, dramatic artistry can be appreciated again.

Old Roman and Gregorian Chants”, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 68 [1984], pp. 11-30), the so-called Gallican Psalter did not hold a favored position in Gaul until the beginning of the ninth century; only afterwards did it supersede the *psautier gaulois* in the recitation of the Divine Office. The surviving sources of the pre-Carolingian *psautier gaulois* coincide either with the Roman reading, or with the Hexaplaric Psalter: cf. Robert WEBER, *Le Psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins. Édition critique par —*, Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, 1953, pp. 89-90.

Aspects of Mode in the Office of Thomas Becket: New Tunes from the Diocese of Trier¹

Estelle Joubert

Composed shortly after the saint's canonization in 1173, the Office of Thomas Becket of Canterbury achieved widespread dissemination across Europe between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. Benedict of Peterborough has been established as the author for both the text and the music, although the authorship of the lessons is still a subject of current debate.² The Thomas Office is one of the first Offices to make use of accentual rhymed verse. Also, the versified liturgical items follow a serial modal order, which David Hiley describes as a structural development in Offices of the eleventh century.³ Importantly, Benedict's Office was presumably written for the monastic cursus, (thereby containing four responsories for matins in each nocturn rather than three, as is common in secular use). The modal scheme, thus, would have been constructed to follow the items of the monastic cursus. Many of the earliest manuscript witnesses of Benedict's Office were destroyed during the dissolution of monasteries ordered by Henry VIII; the earliest complete monastic source that survives is a Cluniac Breviary (GB Cfw 369) from the Fitzwilliam museum, dating between 1263 and 1300.

Upon preparing the Thomas Office for secular use in England and on the continent, the modal scheme was disrupted as some items were omitted and others re-arranged. Additionally, over centuries of dissemination, the items in the Thomas Office have been disrupted in many ways that have yet to be systematically investigated. In his large-scale electronic project entitled 'Thomas Becket: Sources and Variants of his Office',⁴ Andrew Hughes has catalogued and analyzed over 1200

¹ I would like to acknowledge first and foremost, Andrew Hughes, for his keen and ongoing support as well as the use of several of his databases, which are cited in more detail below. Also, I am grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Clarendon Fund at the University of Oxford, the Joint Initiative of European Studies at the University of Toronto in collaboration with DAAD, and the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library for their generous support. Finally, I would like to express my thanks to the librarians at the Bistumsarchiv in Trier for their kind assistance.

² For a brief summary of the debate, see Kay Brainerd SLOCUM, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*, Toronto and London: Toronto UP, 2004, pp. 136-146.

³ David HILEY, "Style and Structure in Early Offices of the Sanctorale", in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium*, ed. Sean GALLAGHER, et al., Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, pp. 159-60.

⁴ 'Thomas Becket: Sources and Variants in his Office' is an extensive electronic research tool of over 1200 Thomas Offices across Europe headed by Andrew Hughes at the University of Toronto. Included thus far are the main Office, Office for the translation, and suffrage in manuscript sources, and about 300 printed sources will soon be added. The temporal boundaries for sources are between 1173 and *ca.* 1600. Countries surveyed include those in the British Isles,

Thomas Offices, using manuscript and printed sources dating between 1173 and *ca.* 1600. One of the interesting results revealed by this project is that changes in the modal scheme, in some cases, are valuable in grouping manuscripts according to geographic location or ecclesiastical use.

The focus of this present study is on one of these subsets identified by the larger project: a group of manuscripts from the Diocese of Trier. This subset is of particular importance, as it is the largest in any single library,⁵ an indication that Thomas Office was unusually concentrated around Trier.⁶ An examination of the modal schemes in this subset reveals two distinct source groups: one in which the modal scheme appears disrupted and one in which the modal scheme has been restored (this is demonstrated in Figure I). D TRb 486 is a representative witness from the group of manuscripts in which the modal scheme has been disrupted and D TRb 491 is representative of the group of manuscripts in which the modal scheme has been restored.

	VE	MI	MA123	MR123	MA456	MR456	MA789	MR789	LA12345	LE	VE
TRb 486	1	2	123	123	456	158	781	76c2	1236c8	6	1
TRb 491	1	4	123	123	456	456	781	781	12345	6	1

Abbreviations:

VE: Magnificat Antiphon MI: Matins Invitatory MA: Matins Antiphon

MR: Matins Responsory LA: Lauds Antiphon LE: Magnificat/Benedictus at Lauds

Figure I: Two groups of manuscripts in Trier. Disruptions are indicated in bold.

France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Portugal, Netherlands, Poland, Scandinavia, Czech Republic, Yugoslavia, as well as European sources held in libraries in the United States and Canada. The project consists of numerous relational databases, facilitating searches in texts, melodic variants, and modal schemes among many other features. In the case of melodic variants, all chants are compared against a ‘base tune’ (described below), which is a compilation of stable Sarum tunes from some 120 British sources. This project is currently supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I am grateful to Andrew Hughes for making this database fully available to me.

⁵ According to ‘Thomas Becket: Sources and Variants in his Office’, the Bistumsarchiv in Trier contains some twelve manuscripts containing the Thomas Office, compared to six in the British Library and five at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

⁶ The earliest veneration of the saint in the Diocese of Trier is at the Himmerod Abbey, founded in the twelfth century, which contains a Becket-chapel. For an overview of the veneration of the saint around Trier see Stefan K. LANGENBAHN, «Die wiederentdeckten Himmeroder Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis (1175)», in *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 41, 2001; Stefan K. LANGENBAHN, «Von der Begegnung zur Verehrung: Thomas von Canterbury – Bernhard von Clairvaux – Himmerod – St. Thomas. Sondierung zur Vorgeschichte der Verehrung des ‘Zisterzienserheiligen’ in der Südeifel», in *Cistercienser Chronik* 110, no. 3, 2003; Ludwig NOLLMAYER, ed., *St. Thomas an der Kyll: Zeit und Geist. Beiträge zu der Geschichte der ehemaligen Zisterzienserinnenabtei*, Trier: Paulinus-Druckerei, 1980. I am grateful to Stefan Langenbahn for pointing me to these sources.

Changes in the modal order occur in the invitatory, in the responsories for matins and in the antiphons for lauds. Usually, liturgical items (both text and music) appear as indivisible units consistently enough that scholars frequently derive the modal order of an Office by examining the order of the texts. The Diocese of Trier is unique, however, in that four new tunes have been composed which, in effect, restore the modal scheme of the Office at various points. The items for which new tunes are substituted are the invitatory, *Adsunt Thome martyris*, the fourth responsory for matins, *Post sex annos*, the ninth responsory for matins, *Iesu bone per Thome*,⁷ and the fourth antiphon for lauds, *Ad Thome memoriam*. (The invitatory, of course, does not typically play a role in the serial modal order of an Office, but since a new tune has been composed for this item, I have included it in this study).

An examination of the date and provenance of each manuscript group reveals that the four newly composed tunes are (within the Diocese of Trier) a regional variant from Koblenz.⁸

DATE	MANUSCRIPT	PROVENANCE	TYPE OF BOOK
1400s	480	possibly Trier Dom	Antiphonal
end of 1400s/early 1500s	486	possibly St. Castor (Koblenz)	Antiphonal
Around 1500	500a	Trier Dom	Antiphonal
Around 1500	501a	Trier Dom	Antiphonal
early 1500s	482	probably Trier Dom	Antiphonal
early 1400s *	521	St. Castor (Koblenz)	Noted Breviary
Around 1500 *	499	St. Castor (Koblenz)	Antiphonal
Around 1500 *	494	St. Florin (Koblenz)	Antiphonal
Around 1500 *	495	St. Florin (Koblenz)	Antiphonal
1537 *	491	St. Castor (Koblenz)	Antiphonal
1537 *	492	St. Castor (Koblenz)	Antiphonal

The aim of this present investigation is to provide an overview of the melodic and modal tendencies of these four items. As a point of comparison, I will use a base tune⁹ (essentially a conflation of Sarum tunes from thirteenth-century British), the old Trier tunes (typically Sarum tunes with variants as a result of transmission) and the new Koblenz tunes. Hereafter, I will refer only to the base tune, old Trier tunes and new Koblenz tunes.

⁷ *Iesu bone per Thome* is the ninth responsory in secular use but the twelfth in monastic use.

⁸ The dates and location of use is taken from Peter SIFFRIN, «Die Liturgischen Handschriften im Bistumsarchiv Trier», Trier: Typescript in Bistumsarchiv, 1969. It should be noted that Siffrin does not provide explicit evidence for the dating of these manuscripts. Since the script and notation in medieval liturgical sources are frequently extremely conservative, judging the age of a book by visual appearance can be very misleading. Given the Siffrin's hesitation on the provenance of D TRb 482 and the current information surrounding chant variation in the Trier area, it would be reasonable to reconsider the dating and provenance for this manuscript.

⁹ Since there is no 'original' Sarum manuscript and one cannot speak of 'original' Sarum tunes to use as a point of

I. Invitatory: *Adsunt thome martiris*

The first item for which a new tune has been substituted is the invitatory, *Adsunt thome martiris* (this corresponds to Transcription I). Although the old Trier tunes are melodically similar to the base tune, immediately apparent are numerous problems in transcription, so much so, that the Psalm tone at the end often reads a third higher (points at which a transposition error of a third occurs and subsequently affects the melody are marked with a bracket in the transcription). Furthermore, the old Trier tunes contain textual errors and inconsistencies; for instance, the opening word, *Ossunt* or *Hec sunt* appears in the old Trier tunes in place of *Adsunt*.

Discounting the transmission errors, however, the old Trier tunes correspond to the base tune and are in mode two while the new Koblenz tune is in mode four, a more usual mode for the invitatory. Moreover, the mode is clearly established throughout each of the melodies and in their respective psalm tones. Finally, the new Koblenz tune follows the poetic structure slightly more closely as the ends of the two phrases are melodically similar; both *thome* and *mater* end on D and start the next words, *martiris* and *jubilat*, respectively, on E.

II. Fourth responsory for matins: *Post sex annos*

The second item for which a new tune is composed is the fourth responsory for matins *Post sex annos* (this corresponds to Transcription II). The base tune and old Trier tunes are in mode one while the new Koblenz tune is in mode four, thereby restoring the overall modal scheme in the Office at this point. Of the four new Koblenz tunes, *Post sex annos* is unique in that it appears to draw upon the melodic material of the base tune and old Trier tunes. In an ongoing spectrum ranging from trivial variant, substantial variant, recomposed, and newly composed, the new Koblenz tune to this responsory appears in part recomposed and in part newly composed. At the beginning of each of the two sections, it appears initially related to the base tune and old Trier tunes, while towards the middle and end of each of the sections the tune appears increasingly newly composed. This analysis, however, is based on a comparison of individual words set to music. For instance, *annos*, *redit*, *vir*, and *dare* appear varied rather than recomposed. The underlying structure, I hope to demonstrate, reveals a more substantial modal shift.

comparison, the base tune was derived from some 120 Sarum manuscripts on the British Isles. A Cluniac breviary from the Fitzwilliam museum (CFW 369) served as a solid point of departure although it contained variants in two items that were particular to itself. These two items were then altered to reflect consistent use of these items in the rest of the manuscripts on the British Isles. While some variation does exist, the Sarum tunes on the whole are fairly stable. This base tune served as a point of departure for comparing melodic variants in Andrew Hughes' 'Thomas Becket: Sources and Variants in his Office', described above.

Responsories are typically the most florid, elaborate, and melismatic items in the liturgical Office; *Post sex annos* is no exception. In his analysis of *Studens livor Thomae*, the first responsory for matins in the Becket Office, Bruno Stäblein is the first to suggest the notion of modal integrity in individual words.¹⁰ His analysis suggests that individual words in plainchant for Offices begin and end on pitches that are modally important, thereby creating stability in the overall modal integrity of the item. Subsequently, both John Stevens and Andrew Hughes have made use of this idea of modal unity in individual words in their analysis of responsories in the Thomas Office.¹¹ Most recently, Hughes has developed a chant-word dictionary containing the words of most late medieval Offices, their mode, position in the item, as well as beginning and starting pitches.¹² A preliminary investigation of modal integrity of individual words in the Thomas Office, however, has revealed that about a third of the words begin and end on modally important pitches. Perhaps the most prominent example in the base tune and old Trier tunes is that of *Christo*, beginning and ending on the reciting tone A in the first mode.

Departing slightly from this approach, I would like to propose that attention should be paid more to the phrasing of the text — the beginnings and endings of each phrase of rhymed poetry, rather than each individual word (this is demonstrated in the transcription). Given the underlying modal structure based on the phrasing on the poetic form, it appears that the responsory has undergone some significant modal alteration. For instance, the opening phrase *Post sex annos* clearly begins and ends on E, the final of the newly selected mode, rather than beginning C and ending on D, the final of mode one. The alteration of the mode in this opening phrase, thus, is more substantial than a melodic variation of each individual word.

Moreover, one of the features of plainchant for Offices is the modal stability and integrity of each item. This also assists in maintaining the overall serial modal scheme found in Offices. Given the central importance of poetic rhyme in the rhymed Office, it stands to reason that the musical and modal structure would be centered around the rhyme scheme. The idea of modal integrity of individual words and phrases, however, needs to be explored more fully in the larger repertory of Offices prior to drawing any certain conclusions.

¹⁰ Bruno STÄBLEIN, *Schriftbild der einstimmige Musik*, ed. Werner BACHMANN, vol. 3, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, Leipzig: Deutsche Verlag der Musik, 1975, pp. 162-163.

¹¹ John STEVENS, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986, p. 252. Andrew HUGHES, "Chants in the Rhymed Office of St Thomas of Canterbury", *Early Music*, May, 1988, pp. 193-196.

¹² This resource has been designed to facilitate (among other searches) a systematic investigation of one of the frequently cited melodic characteristics of plainchant for rhymed Offices: that of modal integrity. Drawing on 60 Offices from *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices* (1996) as well as the complete antiphonal from Humbert's Codex, the chant-word dictionary contains some 96 000 chant words from Offices, facilitating searches of text, melody, mode, position of the word within the item, as well as the starting and ending pitch of each word. I am grateful to Andrew Hughes for making this project fully available to me.

III. Ninth responsory for matins: *Iesu bone per thoma merita*

The third new tune particular to the Koblenz manuscripts is the ninth responsory for matins, *Iesu bone per thome merita*¹³ (this corresponds to Transcription III). The base and old Trier tunes are in mode two, while the new Koblenz tune is in mode one, thereby restoring the overall modal order in the Office at this point. In a manner similar to the previous responsory, the overall modal structure of *Iesu bone per Thome* appears to be determined for the most part by the poetic phrase structure. The underlying modal structure is remarkably different, considering that the modal change from mode two in the old Trier tune to mode one in the new Koblenz tune is a very close alteration. In fact, the two modes share D as a final and the overall range covered by the old Trier tunes and the new Koblenz tunes are almost identical. Within the verse of the responsory, however, the new Koblenz tune occupies a higher range, one that is expected for mode one.

IV. Fourth antiphon for lauds: *Ad Thome Memoriam*

The last item for which a new tune is substituted is the fourth antiphon for lauds, *Ad Thome Memoriam* (this corresponds to Transcription IV). This antiphon contains numerous unusual modal ambiguities and inconsistencies. The base tune is in mode six with a finalis on C. The old Trier tunes contain two problems: first, a transposition error of a third occurs at the word *memoriam* during the first half of the antiphon. Second, the mode switches inexplicably at the beginning of the second half of the antiphon at the word *Et*. The most interesting feature of this modal change mid-way through the antiphon is that it corresponds with the base tune transposed to the usual finalis for mode six, which is on F.

Thus, in the old Trier tunes, the first half resembles the base tune transposed with the finalis on C while the second half resembles the base tune transposed with a finalis on F. Within these two transpositions, individual notes have been sufficiently altered to avoid the tritone. The starting note of the second phrase at the word *Et* has been changed from a B natural to an A. In other cases, however, the augmented fourth remains unchanged, leaving a potential problem for the singer.

While the base tune for this item was in mode six, the new Koblenz tune is in mode four, thereby restoring the modal order in the series of antiphons for Lauds. Overall, the new Koblenz tune pays closer attention to the rhyme scheme and phrases in the text and the overall melody and individual phrases are modally more stable.

¹³ *Iesu bone* is the ninth responsory in secular use, but is the twelfth in monastic use.

Summation

In conclusion, a comparison of the four liturgical items in the Office of Thomas Becket from the Diocese of Trier produced a number of interesting results. First, the newly composed tunes in the Koblenz sources restore the overall modal scheme in the Office at various points. In the case of the invitory, the new tune employs a more usual mode. Importantly, the modal scheme that is restored is necessarily a theoretical one. The initial disruption in the modal scheme would have been when Benedict's monastic Office was re-ordered to be a secular Office and since all of the sources from the Diocese of Trier are for secular use, the new Koblenz order is likely one of the few modally ordered Thomas Offices for secular use. This does, however, point to a keen theoretical knowledge of plainchant for liturgical Offices.

Moreover, numerous copying and transmission errors are corrected: the invitory contains numerous transcription and transposition errors in the old tune, many of which are potentially problematic for singers in a performance context. The new Koblenz invitory tune, however, effectively solves many of these melodic transcription problems and corrects textual errors in the old Trier tunes. Also the old Trier tunes to *Ad Thome Memoriam* contain an error relating to modal consistency that is corrected in the new tune; its mode is more clearly defined and consistent throughout the melody.

Finally, in analyzing aspects of mode in plainchant for rhymed Offices, a paradigm shift seems necessary from dealing only with individual words and their melodies to dealing with structural points in the poetic structure of the verse. While chant-word analysis in rhymed Offices has proven to be of some use in understanding modal integrity to each item of the liturgical Office, it seems absolutely essential to consider the larger artistic whole of the rhymed Office and its creative play between rhyme, melody, narrative, scripture, and standard liturgical formulae.

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Transcription I: Invitatory - *Adsunt Thome martiris*

Base tune
Ad - sunt tho - me mar - ty - ris sol - lem - ni - a vir - go ma - ter iu - bi - let ec - cle - si - a. Venite

TRb 480
As - sunt tho - me mar - ti - ris sol - lemp - ni - a vir - go ma - ter iu - bi - let ec - cle - si - a. Venite

TRb 482
Os - sunt tho - me mar - ti - ris sol - lemp - ni - a vir - go ma - ter ju - bi - let ec - cle - si - a. Veni

TRb 486
As - sunt tho - me mar - ty - ris sol - lemp - ni - a vir - go ma - ter iu - bi - let ec - cle - si - a. Veni

TRb 501a
Hec sunt tho - me mar - ti - ris so - lem - ni - a vir - go ma - ter iu - bi - let ec - cle - si - a. Venite

TRb 500a
Hec sunt tho - me mar - ti - ris so - lem - ni - a vir - go ma - ter iu - bi - let ec - cle - si - a. Venite

TRb 491
As - sunt tho - me mar - ty - ris sol - lemp - ni - a vir - go ma - ter iu - bi - let ec - cle - si - a. Venite

The base tune and old Trier tunes are in mode one while the new Koblenz tunes (represented by TRb 480 and TRb 486 indicate a discrepancy between red and yellow Guidonian lines representing the F and C clef, respectively, and additional clef signs. This transcription follows the clef signs rather than the coloured Guidonian lines.

Transcription II: Fourth Responsory for Matins - *Post Sex Annos*

Base tune

Post sex annos re dit vir sta bi lis da re

TRb 480

Post sex annos re dit vir sta bi lis da re

TRb 482

Post sex annos re dit vir sta bi lis da re

TRb 491

Post sex annos re dit vir sta bi lis da re

Base tune

ter re vas fra gi lis Chris to

TRb 480

ter re tes te vas fra gi lis Chris to

TRb 482

ter re tes te vas fra gi lis Chris to

TRb 491

ter re tes te vas fra gi lis Chris to

Base tune

va - - - sis the-sau - - - rum fic - ti - lis

TRb 480

va - - - sis the-sau - - - rum fic - ti - lis

TRb 482

va - - - sis the-sau - - - rum fic - ti - lis

TRb 491

va - - sis the - sau - rum fic - ti - lis

(o)

Base tune

Ne sit lu - pis pre - da grex hu - mi - lis se pro gre - ge dat pas - tor no-bi - lis

TRb 480

Ne sit lu - pis pre - da grex hu - mi - lis se pro gre - ge dat pas - tor no-bi-lis

TRb 482

Ne sit lu - pis pre - da grex hu - mi - lis se pro gre - ge dat pas - tor no-bi-lis

TRb 491

Ne sit lu - pis pre - da grex hu - mi - lis se pro gre - ge dat pas - tor no - bi - lis

TRb 480 contains several variants unique to itself while TRb 482 represents the remainder of the manuscripts with the old Trier tunes. TRb 491 has been selected to represent the new Koblenz tunes, which do not contain any substantial variants.

Transcription III: Ninth Responsory for Matins - *Iesu bone per Thome*

Base tune

le - su bo - ne per Tho - ri - ta nos - tra

TRb 482

lhe - su bo - ne per Tho - ri - ta pos - te - a

TRb 491

le - su bo - ne per Tho - me me - ri - ta nos - tra

Base tune

no - bis di - mit - te de - bi - ta do - mum por - tam

TRb 482

no - bis di - mit - te de - bi - ta do - mum por - tam

TRb 491

no - bis di - mit - te de - bi - ta do - mum por - tam

Base tune

se - pul - chrum vi - si - ta et a tri - na

TRb 482

se - pul - chrum vi - si - ta et a tri - na

TRb 491

se - pul - chrum vi - si - ta et a tri - na

Base tune

nos mor - - - - - te sus - ci - ta

TRb 482

nos mor - - - - - te sus - ci - ta

TRb 491

nos mor - - - - - te sus-ci - - ta

Base tune

Ac - - tu men - te vel u - su per-di - ta pi - e - ta - te res - tau - ra so - li - ta

TRb 482

Ac - tu men - te vel u - su per - di - ta pi - e - ta - te res - tau - ra so - li - ta

TRb 491

Ac - tu men - te vel u - su di - ta pi - e - ta - te res - tau - ra so - li - ta

Transcription IV: Fourth Antiphon for Lauds - *Ad Thome memoriam*

Base tune

Ad tho - me me - mo - ri - am qua ter lux des - cen - dit Et in sanc - ta glo - ri - am ce re - os as - - cen - dit. Evovae

TRb 482

Ad tho - me me - mo - ri - am qua ter lux des - cen - dit Et in sanc - ta glo - ri - am ce re - os as - - cen - dit. Evovae

TRb 491

Ad tho - me me - mo - ri - am qua ter lux des - cen - dit Et in sanc - ti glo - ri - am ce - re - os as - - cen - dit. Evovae

Le prosaire de l'ordre de Grandmont

(Paris, BnF n.a.l. 2680, XVe s. in.)

Marie-Noël Colette

La Bibliothèque nationale de France a acheté en janvier 2005 à un antiquaire parisien le seul prosaire connu de l'Ordre de Grandmont.¹ Cette acquisition peut être annoncée comme un événement car cet Ordre, qui compta jusqu'à environ 150 prieurés, laissa très peu de manuscrits.

Les livres liturgiques de l'ordre de Grandmont

L'ordre de Grandmont fut fondé au XI^e siècle dans le diocèse de Limoges par le diacre-ermite Etienne de Muret, mort en 1124. Il se répandit rapidement mais fut supprimé par la Commission des réguliers en 1768. En 1789, Léonard Barbour, imprimeur-libraire, et Soudanas, relieur à Limoges achetèrent au prix de leur poids les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque pour en faire des endossements de livres. Cet achat fut mentionné par Martial de Lépine en marge de l'inventaire qu'il avait établi en 1771 des cent soixante dix-sept manuscrits grandmontains «dont une partie est fort délabrée, et dont plus de la moitié est des livres de chœur, bréviaire, psautiers et missels».² Jean-Loup Lemaitre, auteur de l'article dont nous tenons ces informations, ajoute que Martial Legros, chanoine de Saint-Martial († 1811) avait auparavant récupéré quelques livres: trois bréviaires, deux diurnaux et cinq calendriers d'autres livres manuscrits provenant de cette abbaye, qui furent à sa mort donnés au séminaire de Limoges, et qui sont maintenant conservés aux archives de la Haute-Vienne.³ L'objet de l'étude de Jean-Loup Lemaitre était l'analyse des calendriers de Grandmont conservés. Dom Jacques Hourlier avait pour sa part décrit un diurnal de l'Ordre, en retenant principalement les hymnes.⁴ Ce manuscrit, d'un prieuré du diocèse du Mans ayant reçu des additions au prieuré de Bercey, avait d'abord été copié en notation aquitaine puis recouvert au XVI^e siècle d'une notation carrée. Nous constaterons aussi avec le prosaire l'influence,

¹ L'existence de ce manuscrit m'a été signalée par Jean-Loup Lemaitre, qu'il en soit vivement remercié. Je remercie aussi M. Fougerat de m'avoir fourni les exemples photographiés avant l'achat du manuscrit par la BnF. Il propose d'autres photos de ce manuscrit sur le site <http://assoc.orange.fr/grandmont/antiphonaire.html>.

² J. L. LEMAITRE, «Le Calendrier de Grandmont au Moyen Âge», in *L'Ordre de Grandmont. Art et histoire*. (Actes des journées d'études de Montpellier, 7/8 octobre 1989) éd. G. DURAND et J. NOUGARET, Centre d'Archéologie Médiévale du Languedoc, 1992, pp. 51-75 [52].

³ Arch. Haute Vienne, Sous-série I SEM 1 sq.

⁴ J. HOURLIER, «Un diurnal noté de l'Ordre de Grandmont (Le Mans 352)», *Etudes grégoriennes*, I, 1954, pp. 179-180.

sur les livres grandmontains, des attaches limousines, singulièrement celle de Saint-Martial qui y est qualifié d'apôtre. Une autre étude importante fut celle de Dom Becquet, qui fit l'état des principales sources de la liturgie de l'Ordre de Grandmont, et à ce propos l'édition de l'office médiéval du fondateur Etienne de Muret.⁵ Cet office est celui que rapportent les *Analecta Hymnica*⁶ d'après un manuscrit inconnu de Dom Becquet. Notre manuscrit ne rapporte pas cet office mais il se contente, pour la fête de Saint Etienne de Muret, d'emprunter l'office de Saint Bernard en remplaçant le nom du saint. Dom Becquet mentionne, p. 160, une prose pour Saint Etienne *Quae Baptistam consecravit* qui est différente des deux proses, non identifiées, de notre manuscrit, l'une dans le prosaire, f. 3v pour la fête de février, *In hoc festo* et l'autre à la suite de l'office de St Etienne, f. 89, *Quasi celsa platanus*. Enfin, les Alleluia qu'il cite, *Dilectus a domino* et *Sit memoria* aussi sont différents des nôtres: *Rosa virens*⁷ et *O bone pastor Stephane*.⁸

Victor Leroquais cite encore un autre manuscrit de Grandmont, un psautier du XIIIe siècle.⁹

Ces auteurs s'intéressèrent chacun à un aspect particulier de la liturgie de Grandmont, et ces citations de manuscrits laissent à penser que d'autres sources pourraient encore être découvertes, telles que le prosaire qui nous occupe ici.

Le manuscrit

Le manuscrit est daté du XIVe siècle.¹⁰ Des additions attestent qu'il a servi jusqu'au XVIIIe s. La reliure, probablement d'époque, est constituée de deux plaques de bois très abîmées recouvertes d'une peau jaunâtre décorée de lignes entrecroisées.

Parchemin de 287x170/185 mm (justification: 200 x 127/130 mm). 113 ff. qui ont été numérotés à leur arrivée à la Bibliothèque nationale de France. Huit longues lignes à la page sous des portées de quatre (ou de cinq dans les cahiers additionnels) lignes rouges. Notation carrée. Régure à la mine de plomb. Réclames parfois soulignées de grotesques, rehaussés de jaune aux f. 4v et 20v et dans une partie d'un autre manuscrit rapportée. Signets en parchemin ou traces de signets, f. 5, 88, 92, 93. Indications marginales parfois tronquées par le massicot. Une réclame est pourvue de notation: 'mundi' f. 4v.

⁵ J. BECQUET, «La liturgie de l'Ordre de Grandmont. Les principales sources», in *Ephemerides liturgicae*, t. 76, 1962, pp. 147-161. Les sources citées par Dom Becquet pour l'office médiéval sont les manuscrits du Séminaire de Limoges, n° 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, et le Diurnal cité par J. Hourlier.

⁶ *Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. C. BLUME, G. M. DREVES et H. M. BANNISTER, 55 vol. 1886-1952, (AH) 18, pp. 237-239. *Bréviaire de Clermont*, XVe s., (BBL IV° 14), Paris, Bibl. Sainte Geneviève, 1262, ff. 362v-365. Cf. V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, t. III, Paris, 1934, pp. 440-444.

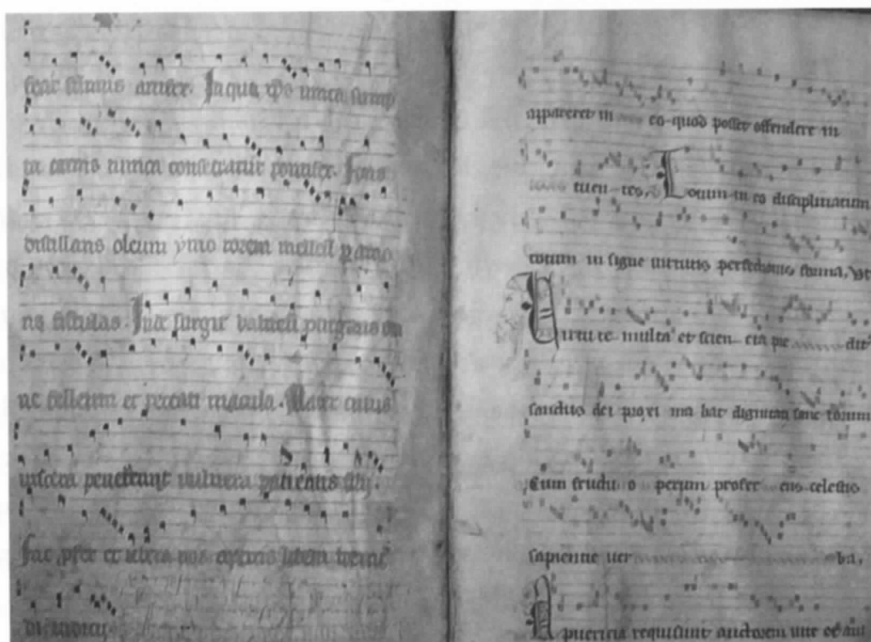
⁷ F. 3, repris avec l'office de Saint Etienne dans la partie de manuscrit insérée, f. 88v.

⁸ F. 55v.

⁹ V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Bréviaires...*, t. IV, pp. 395-396. Ms. BnF lat. 16306, XIIIe s.

¹⁰ Les datations m'ont été suggérées par Marie Françoise Damongeot conservateur général au département des manuscrits de la BnF, qui proposera une analyse codicologique plus approfondie de ce manuscrit et de ses nombreuses additions. Je la remercie de m'avoir aidée dans l'examen de ce manuscrit.

La majorité des cahiers sont des quaternions, signalons cependant 4 folios au début du manuscrit et un cahier (f. 83 bis à 94) de 16 ff. dans la partie ajoutée, si l'on compte les pages manquantes. Plusieurs folios manquent en effet, nous les numérotions 59 bis, 83 bis, 86 bis, 88 bis, 88 ter, 92 bis. Ensuite nous trouvons les cahiers: f. 95-104; f. 105-111; f. 112, f. 113. Il y a encore une lacune entre les f. 104 et 105, à la reprise du manuscrit principal, f. 105, il manque le début de la prose qui a été complétée au moment de l'assemblage au verso du f. 104v, dernier folio de la partie insérée.



Exemple 1. BnF Nal 2680, f. 3. Alleluia V. Rosa virens.

A première vue le manuscrit semble composé de trois parties. Il s'agit plutôt d'un manuscrit principal qui a reçu quelques additions, et en particulier, l'insertion de deux cahiers:

I. f. 1-83v. Le prosaire, incomplet du début, commence à l'Epiphanie jusqu'aux proses *De Beata*.

II. f. 84-104v. Partie insérée. Mention du prieuré de Macheret, en Champagne.¹¹

Office de S. Etienne de Muret, Alleluia et prose.

Office *De Beata Maria Virgine* dont quelques pièces polyphoniques, proses.

III. f. 105-111v. Même présentation que la première partie: proses *De Beata* + quelques proses ajoutées.

+ f. 112 un folio indépendant contenant une prose notée.

+ f. 113 un folio non noté, extrait d'un autre manuscrit: fragment de diurnal.

Des additions plus tardives, fin XVe s., d. XVIe (f. 35v-36, 47 etc.) et XVIIIe siècle.

¹¹ Cette identification a été faite par M. Fr. Damongeot.

Le manuscrit principal est assez homogène, entièrement noté en neumes carrés sur 4 lignes rouges à raison de 8 longues lignes à la page. Quelques notes très allongées, sur les finales d'Amen ou d'Alleluia (ex. f. 93v, Alleluia *Rosa mundi*). Pliques ou liquescences mais pas de claire indication de mesure, même dans la partie insérée.

Nombreuses corrections ou additions, de rubriques, mais aussi, en marge inférieure, des additions, notées ou non, de phrases de proses qui avaient été oubliées dans la copie de la page (ex. f. 35v-36, 68v, 76). Assez nombreuses fautes de copie du texte ou de la musique.

Contenu

Le manuscrit est incomplet au début, il commence au milieu de la séquence *Epiphaniam domino* (pour l'Epiphanie), et se termine avec les fêtes de Saint Nicolas et de la Dédicace. Sainte Anne¹² est placée à la fin du sanctoral avant le commun des apôtres et une série de proses à la vierge, interrompue par l'addition du cahier inséré. Ce cahier comprend l'office pour la fête de Saint Etienne de Muret, une messe de la vierge *Salve sancta parens* incluant plusieurs Alleluia et des chants de l'Ordinaire dont quelques-uns avec tropes ou en polyphonie, à deux ou trois voix: Gloria, offertoire, Sanctus, prosule d'Osanna et Agnus. Quelques renvois sont faits du manuscrit inséré à l'autre, (du f. 101 au f. 82v: Pr. *Ave novi luminis*) ou, plus tardivement, dans l'autre sens, ainsi du f. 51v au f. 104v (*Ave virgo gratiosa*). Quelques indices laissent à penser que les deux manuscrits ont été copiés indépendamment avant d'être rassemblés. Ainsi l'Alleluia *Rosa virens* pour Saint Etienne de Muret n'aurait probablement pas été copié, f. 88 si le copiste avait connu la même copie du f. 3.

f. 1-83v. Suite de proses, quelques Alleluia.

f. 84-88v. Office de Saint Etienne de Muret, incomplet.

f. 88v-90. Alleluia et prose pour Saint Etienne de Muret.

f. 90v-101. Messe *De Beata Maria Virgine: Salve sancta parens*, chants de l'Ordinaire, au moins six Alleluia.

f. 101-109. Proses *Beate Marie Virginis*, et Sanctus non tropé. Une rubrique spécifie que ce Sanctus devrait être placé plus haut, f. 95v (HIC DEBET ESSE SANCTUS BEATE MARIE, REQUIRE RETRO IN FINE CATERNUM).

f. 109-111v. Deux proses *Tempore Pasche* (paraphrases de *Victime paschali laudes*).

f. 111v. Autre main: Pr. *Benedicta es celorum regina*.

f. 112. Autre main, gros carrés: Pr. *Letabundus exultet*.

¹² Un renvoi à cette fête a été ajouté f. 42v avant la prose pour Saint Laurent.

f. 113. Feuille de diurnal non noté: office dominical et ferial comportant une liste de capitules, répons-brefs et petits versets, oraisons:

Inc. <C.> *Fratres, Renovamini* (Eph. IV, 23). <V> *Dirigatur Domine oratio*, (...)

Expl. <C.> *Sana me domine et sanabor saluum me fac et saluus ero quoniam laus mea tu es.* (Jér. 17, 14). <R. bref> *Sana* <V.> *Ego dixi* <V.> *Adiutor.*

Ce fragment, qui couvre le répertoire de Vêpres, Laudes et Heures depuis le dimanche aux premières Vêpres jusqu'à Tierce du début de l'office ferial, correspond à ce que rapporte le diurnal de l'Ordre de Grandmont,¹³ à la différence près que ce dernier est entièrement noté et qu'il inclut aussi les antienne de *Benedictus* et de *Magnificat*.

Le sanctoral

Un prosaire ne rend pas compte de toutes les fêtes célébrées dans un Ordre, mais il offre de précieuses indications sur celles qui y furent considérées comme importantes.¹⁴ Ce prosaire, qui commence à l'Epiphanie, concerne toutes les grandes fêtes du temporel, avec en particulier des proses pour chaque jour des octaves de Pâques et de l'Assomption, et de nombreuses proses en l'honneur de la Vierge Marie. Outre les saints universels, les fêtes vénérées à Grandmont: deux fêtes de Saint Etienne de Muret sont mentionnées chacune pour un Alleluia, celles du 8 février et du 30 août. Cette dernière, *Translatio* est dénommée dans certains calendriers *Revelatio*.¹⁵ De la translation du 25 juin il n'est pas ici question. Une seule prose *In hoc festo* est indiquée dans le prosaire, pour la fête du 8 février. Une autre prose, *Quasi celsa platanus*, est notée à la suite de l'office de Saint Etienne dans la partie insérée. Compositions originales et uniques, ces proses sont dans ce manuscrit les seuls éléments relatant la vie de Saint Etienne puisque l'office n'est pas spécifique. La fête des vierges de Cologne au mois de novembre est présente, mais non celle de leur translation (28 avril) qui, d'après une note de l'Ordinaire de Guillaume Pellicier relevée par J. L. Lemaître, n'était célébrée qu'à Grandmont même, où étaient conservées les reliques.¹⁶ La fête du *Corpus Christi*, citée dans la mise à jour des statuts de l'Ordre faite par Guillaume Pellicier, abbé de 1317 à 1336,¹⁷ n'est pas mentionnée. Cette absence engage à penser que le manuscrit fut copié au début du XIV^e siècle. La fête de Sainte Marie Madeleine, quoique à sa place, a fait l'objet d'une addition. Par contre, Sainte Anne ne figure pas en juillet, mais seulement à la fin du volume, entre la Dédicace et les communs. Sa fête avait été imposée à l'Ordre en 1289, en même temps que les

¹³ Le Mans, Bibl. mun., 352, XIII^e s., ff. 19v-21v.

¹⁴ Voir ci-dessous la liste des proses et des fêtes correspondantes.

¹⁵ Cf. J. BECQUET, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

¹⁶ Cf. J. L. LÉMAÎTRE, «Le Calendrier», p. 65.

¹⁷ Cf. J. BECQUET, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

fêtes de Saint Hugues et de Saint Dominique,¹⁸ lesquels ne figurent pas dans ce manuscrit. Cette imposition était le fruit d'une réforme menée par l'abbé de Moissac et l'Ordre des Prêcheurs. L'influence de ces derniers se fera néanmoins sentir dans certains éléments du prosaire. Enfin, témoignage des attaches limousines de Grandmont, la fête de Saint Martial est pourvue d'une prose connue seulement à Saint-Martial.

*Les Proses*¹⁹

Ce prosaire ne peut rendre compte du contenu du premier prosaire grandmontain puisqu'il contient nombre des proses qui ne sont apparues qu'à la fin du XIIe et au XIIIe siècle. Et parmi celles-ci on ne s'étonnera pas de trouver surtout celles qui sont aussi dans les manuscrits limousins. Cependant d'autres influences, importées ou exportées, sont décelables.

Tout d'abord remarquons que le prosaire a conservé très peu de proses de la première époque, toutes encore présentes dans le prosaire de Saint-Martial du XIIe siècle, BnF lat. 1139, ainsi que dans le prosaire de Saint-Léonard (lat.1086):

1 <Epiphaniam domino>	Epiphanie
22v <i>Rex omnipotens</i>	Ascension
26 <i>Sancti spiritus</i>	Pentecôte

Soit deux proses de l'Ouest et une de l'Est, *Sancti Spiritus* qui fut diffusée à l'Ouest par Cluny et y connut une grande faveur. Notons aussi que ce manuscrit compte une deuxième prose pour l'Ascension: *Omnes gentes plaudite*, qui est connue principalement de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs.

Comme il est normal ce répertoire a reçu nombre de proses du XIIe s., partout diffusées à cette époque. Nous ne retiendrons comme telles que celles qui se trouvent dans les premiers manuscrits connus de Saint-Victor, du XIIIe s.:²⁰

- f. 10 *Ecce dies celebris* (aussi Citeaux dès le XII/XIIIe s. AH 54, 218)
- f. 13v *Mundi renovatio* (AH 54, 224)
- f. 33v *Ad honorem tuum Christe* (AH 55, 200)
- f. 38 *Roma Petro gloriatur* (AH 55, 321)

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁹ Voir les intitulés des fêtes dans la liste générale des proses, ci-dessous.

²⁰ Ed. dans E. MISSET et P. AUBRY, *Les Proses d'Adam de St Victor*, Paris, Welter, 1900, repr. Genève: Minkoff, 1980. Voir aussi M. FASSLER, *Gothic Song, Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1993.

f. 66 *Vox sonora nostri chori* (AH 55, 236)

f. 76v *Lux illuxit dominica* (AH 54, 220)

Bon nombre de ces proses, attribuées à Saint-Victor, étaient aussi connues en Aquitaine dès le XIIe siècle, puisqu'elles se trouvent dans le prosaire de Saint-Léonard (Paris, BnF lat.1086):

f. 12 *Sexta passus feria* (AH 54, 223)

f. 13 *Salve dies dierum gloria* (AH 54, 222)

f. 20 *Laudes crucis attollamus* (AH 54, 188)

f. 28v *Profitentes unitatem* (AH 54, 249)

f. 35v *Gaude Roma caput mundi* (AH 55, 313)

f. 42v *Prunis datum* (ms: *assum*) *admiremur* (AH 55, 245)

f. 47 *Salve mater salvatoris vas electum* (AH 54, 385)

f. 48 *Hodierne lux diei celebris matris Dei* (AH 54, 346)

f. 54 *Precursorem summi* (ms: *suum*) (AH 55, 202)

f. 60 <*Laus erumpat ex affectu*> (AH 55, 288)

f. 62 *Superne matris gaudia* (AH 55, 45)

f. 68v *Exultemus et letemur* (AH 55, 68)

f. 74v *Rex Salomon fecit templum* (AH 55, 35)

Il arrive que les Aquitains proposent des mélodies différentes de Saint-Victor, comme pour *Rex Salomon* et *Salve mater*. Pour ces deux proses Grandmont est plus conforme à Saint-Victor.

L'influence limousine est plus sensible avec quelques proses qui ne sont connues que de manuscrits de Limoges, en particulier Saint-Léonard (BnF lat. 1086) et le prosaire de Saint-Martial (BnF lat. 1139), singulièrement de sa partie ajoutée par Guillaume La Concha (entre 1197 et 1226) dont presque toutes les proses ont été diffusées à Grandmont.

f. 15v *Morte Christi celebrata*: lat. 1139 f. 16 (La Concha)

f. 40 *Exultemus sic in Deum*: lat. 1139 f. 10 (La Concha) et Antiphonaire de Saint-Martial XIVe s. Paris, BnF, lat. 916 (AH 8, 182)

f. 61 *Virginis egregie* lat. 1139 f. 14v (La Concha) et 1086 f. 121 (*Virgines*) Las Huelgas, f. 69v.²¹

Le texte de *Virginis egregie* renvoie explicitement à celui du *Sponsus*, drame qui ne se trouve que dans le recueil martialien cité (BnF lat. 1139). L'ordre de Grandmont a emprunté cette prose

²¹ Cf. H. ANGLÈS, *El Còdex musical de Las Huelgas (Musica a veu del segle XIII-XIV)*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis catalans, 1931, t. III, p. 104.

attribuée au commun des vierges et l'a adaptée pour les vierges de Cologne, en mettant au pluriel des épithètes qui à Saint-Martial étaient au singulier: *O virgines venerande* (au lieu de *Virgo sancta veneranda*), *Caste prudentes et fideles* (au lieu de *Casta prudens et fidelis*...).²²

Les proses de Guillaume La Concha qui ne sont pas dans le prosaire de Grandmont n'ont pas été diffusées ailleurs qu'à Limoges,²³ à l'exception de la prose pour Saint Paul *Corde voce pulsa* qui fait partie du répertoire de Saint-Victor.

La prose f. 45. *A<u>rea virga* pour la fête de l'Assomption, connue à Saint-Yrieix et à Saint-Martial dès le XIe s. (AH 7, 122) a été peu répandue hors du répertoire aquitain, si ce n'est au XIIe s. dans les prosaires de Nevers, eux-mêmes très dépendants de Saint-Léonard.²⁴

D'autres proses ont été plus largement diffusées par la suite, en particulier à Paris mais leurs premières attestations sont limousines:

f. 70v *Congaudentes exultemus vocali concordia* (AH 54, 95) Saint-Yrieix et Saint-Léonard.

f. 78v *Celi solem inmitantes in occasu triumphantes* (AH 55, 5) Saint-Léonard.

f. 5. *Ave maria, gratia plena, ... virgo serena*

(Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, RH n°1879) Saint-Léonard, Saint-Martial, et Saint-Laurent de Longré près d'Auxerre.²⁵

f. 111 (Add.). *Virginis Marie laudes intonant Christiani* (AH 54, 27). A Saint-Léonard, Saint-Martial et au XIIIe s. au prieuré d'Aureil, près de Limoges.²⁶

f. 49 *Ave mundi spes Maria*

Cette prose est déjà largement diffusée au XIIe s., en Allemagne, Autriche, Angleterre, seulement elle est aussi présente à Saint-Martial, Saint-Léonard, Narbonne et le style littéraire et musical de ses dernières strophes semble bien limousin:

O castitatis liliium tuum precare filium...

Collocet in lucis domo.

Amen dicat omnis homo.

f. 112. *Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus Alleluya*

Cette prose, assez bien répandue dès le XIIe s., se trouve aussi dans le premier prosaire du ms lat. 1139, contemporain d'Etienne de Muret (AH 54,5).

²² Au f. 60v du prosaire de Grandmont, une addition en marge inférieure rappelle l'incipit: *Virginis egregie virginis*.

²³ 17v De sancto Stephano. *Mundus heri letabatur* (AH 8, 213: Paris, BnF lat. 1139 et 1086). 19v De sco Martino *Velud topazion ex Ethiopia Martinum* (AH 8, 185: lat. 1139).

²⁴ BnF n.a.l. 1235 et 3126. Cf. G. IVERSEN, «Continuité et renouvellement à Nevers», in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques. Recueil d'études réunies par W. Arlt et G. Björkvall*, Stockholm, 1993, pp. 175-191. *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia latina Stockholmiensia*, XXXVI, pp. 271-308.

²⁵ Lat. 1086, f. 86v; 1139 f. 174; 10511 f. 1 (add.).

²⁶ XIIe s.: Lat 1086, f. 121v, 1139 f. 116v. Au XIIIe s., Aureil (Arch. Vienne D 1221), aussi à Saint-Yrieix et en Normandie: Bayeux, Rouen, et d'autres. La variante *Virgini Mariae* est plus courante.

f. 79v. *Divino balsamo mundus* n'est connue au XIII^e s. que par une copie incomplète dans un manuscrit du prieuré des Augustins d'Aureil, près de Limoges (Archives de la Haute-Vienne, D 1221).²⁷

C'est aussi au XIV^e s. que se trouvent ces proses dans des zones peu éloignées de notre prosaire:

f. 107 *Rosa veris paradisus et libanus* (AH 10, 78). Missel romano franciscain XIV^e s. Carpentras Bibl. mun. 107.²⁸

f. 107v *Ave virgo singularis celi luminaria* (AH 39, 63). Saint-Robert de la Chaise Dieu XIV^e s. Paris, BnF lat. 5247.

Les deux proses suivantes ne se trouvent, après Grandmont, que dans des missels imprimés limousins:

f. 19 *In hac die iubilemus* (AH 39, 252) Missel de Limoges impr. Paris 1483.

f. 77v *Gloriose Marie matrem* (AH 39, 103)

Missel de Limoges impr. Paris 1483;

Missel de Limoges impr. s.l. 1540

Les proses précédentes ont pu être composées à Grandmont, de même que des proses uniques à ce manuscrit:

f. 3v *In hoc festo confessoris* pour le patron de l'Ordre.

f. 18 *Pascha Christi resurgentis pura laude pure mentis*.

Dans cette prose composée en mode de D pour le jour de Pâques, il est question de la joie du jour de Pâques, et les mots 'conventus' et 'fratres' font référence à une congrégation religieuse, sans autre précision.

f. 41 *Salve doctor gentium Christi vas egregium*

Le texte s'inspire largement de la prose pour Saint Paul rapportée par le prosaire de La Concha: *Corde, voce pulsa celos* (AH 53, 308),

f. 105v. *Laudes eterni numinis celestis armonia celica*

Celles-ci sont attestées aussi pour la première fois dans notre prosaire mais elles ne sont pas restées exclusivement limousines:

²⁷ AH, 39, 9. Sur ce manuscrit on pourra consulter les articles suivants extraits du *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*: t. 33, 1886, pp. 101-103: A. LEROUX, «Mélanges», t. 91, 1964, pp. 71-85: J. BECQUET, «Le coutumier des chanoines réguliers d'Aureil»; t. 125, 1997, pp. 23-44; J. L. LEMAITRE, «Les Inventaires médiévaux des bibliothèques monastiques et canoniales limousines». Je remercie J.-L. Lemaître pour ses informations concernant ce manuscrit et le prieuré d'Aureil.

²⁸ Moyennant d'importantes variantes, trois strophes seulement correspondent.

f. 63v. *Ad Martinum* (sic) *titulum invocalet modulum...* (AH 8, 190)

Missel de Saint-Martin des Champs '1408' Paris, Bibl. Maz. 416 (235);

Et Missel de St Martin des Champs, Cluny.

f. 82v. *Ave novi luminis stella promens* (incomplète) (AH 8, 74)

AH, 8, 74: Missel de Cluny, imprimé à Paris, 1550. et Missel de Zagreb imprimé à Venise, 1511.

Nous remarquons que les compositeurs de Grandmont ont largement pratiqué l'adaptation, comme pour cette prose dont la seule référence est une antienne d'un office pour un patron suédois:

f. 63v. *Hii sancti quorum hodie celebrantur sollempnia* (AH 28, 118).

Ou, f. 50v *Stella maris... expers paris*, dont seules les deux premières strophes correspondent à un manuscrit du Séminaire de Trente, cité par F. J. Mone. Les autres strophes citées par Mone sont celles qui terminent, dans notre manuscrit, f. 105-105v, et aussi dans sa transcription, la prose *Ave virgo graciosa*.²⁹

D'autres proses enfin, assez peu répandues avant de se trouver dans notre prosaire, attestent des influences plus diversifiées géographiquement.

Sens

f. 6v. *Ab arce sydereae* (AH 8, 13)³⁰

Paris

f. 1 *Lux advenit veneranda* (AH 54, 309)³¹

f. 33 *Precursoris et baptiste* (AH 55, 204)³²

Paris et l'Angleterre

f. 72v. *Iherusalem et Syon filie* (AH 55, 38)

f. 57v. *Utherus virgineus thronus* (ms: *totus*) est citée dès le XIIIe s. à Dijon, Tortosa et dans un manuscrit sicilien (AH 54, 389).

Même si elles ne sont pas exclusives, les références à des monastères suisses doivent être relevées, eu égard à la présence, dans le cahier inséré dans ce prosaire, d'un Alleluia et d'une pièce polyphonique attestés respectivement à Sion et à Lausanne:

²⁹ Fr. J. MONE, *Hymni latini medii aevi*, Fribourg en Brisgau, 1854, t. II, p. 317 (ms. Trient, XIVe s.); pp. 312-313 (ms. Lichtenthal, XVe s.). L'autre référence de cette prose est le manuscrit Londres, Br. Libr. Egerton 274, f. 75 cité par Ul. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, n° 19456, qui mentionne aussi un manuscrit de Saint-Denis (XIVe s.).

³⁰ Au XIIIe s. à Sens (Paris, BnF lat. 10502) (Mélodie de *Mane prima sabbati*).

³¹ Surtout parisienne, cette prose sera diffusée à Nevers, Compiègne, Poissy.

³² Au XIIIe s. seulement à Paris/Reims, puis à Paris.

Agaune:

f. 111v. *Benedicta es celorum regina*. Ajoutée en bas du f. 111v qui termine le dernier cahier, cette prose est attestée au XIII-XIVe s. en Normandie, Angleterre et à Agaune, puis au XIVe s., à Sens, Sainte-Geneviève de Paris, Chartres, Moissac.³³

Sion:

f. 81. *Ad superne gremium matris* (AH 34, 133).

Hauterive:

f. 102. *Marie preconio serviat* (AH 54, 391):

Au XIIIe s. à Cambrai, Hauterive, Graduel français XI/XII. Bruxelles. Fétis 1172 add. XIIIe s., et grande diffusion au XIVe s.

f. 102v. *Ave virgo gloriosa celi iubar mundi* (AH 54, 417)

Au XIIIe s. à Hauterive (Oxford, lat. lit. d. 5), Poissy et les Frères prêcheurs de Toulouse puis, à partir du XIVe s., diffusion en Allemagne, Suisse, dans différents ordres, principalement les dominicains. Le texte reprend des éléments du *Salve regina* ainsi que de l'antienne *Salve virgo gloriosa* rapportée par un manuscrit de Prague.³⁴

f. 104v. *Ave virgo gracios a virgo mater... viscera* (AH 54, 419): Au XIIIe s. à Hauterive (Oxford, lat. lit. d. 5).

f. 109. *Surgit Christus cum trophæo iam ex agno factus* (Add.) (AH 54, 364/366). Au XIIIe s. seulement Hauterive (Oxford, lat. lit. D. 5) propose cette sorte de paraphrase de *Victime paschali laudes* avec refrain *Dic nobis Maria* qui sera bien diffusée aux XIVe et XVe s. Quelques variantes.³⁵

L'Ordre des frères prêcheurs avait également bien accueilli des proses comme celles-ci:

f. 24v. *Omnes gentes plaudite* (AH 54, 232).

f. 51v. *Salve sancta Christi parens* (AH 54, 427).

f. 56. *Nativitas Marie virginis que nos lavit* (AH 54, 288). Variantes de texte importantes.

f. 101. *Ave virgo virginum* (AH, 54, 432/433)

Cette prose, ajoutée au XII/XIII e s. dans un manuscrit de Réome (Vat. Reg. 493, add.) fut diffusée dès le XIIIe s. surtout chez les dominicains.³⁶

³³ AH 54, 396: XIII/XIVe s.: Bayeux, Caen, Saint-Evroult, Salisbury, Agaune. XIVe s.: Sens, Ste Geneviève, Chartres, Moissac, Dublin, Hereford.

³⁴ Hymnarius-cantionale. Prague, Bibl. de l'Université, V H 11, XIVe s., f. 74.

³⁵ Grandmont suit, de la copie des AH: p. 364: strophes 1 à 4; p. 366 strophes 5 à 15 sauf 9 et 10; p. 365 strophes 14 et 15.

³⁶ L'incipit a été ajouté au XIIIe s., dans une série d'incipit de proses à la Vierge, au début du prosaire de Nevers, BnF n.a.l. 1235, f. 8v (Cf. M. FASSLER, *Gothic Song*, p. 351). La prose était aussi présente à Réome et à Hauterive au XIIIe s. Elle fut diffusée surtout chez les dominicains dès le XIIIe s.

Grandmont partage encore avec des dominicains (cf. AH 54, 385) la lacune des strophes 4, 6, 9 à 10 de la prose *Salve mater salvatoris* (f. 47) pour laquelle Grandmont suit la mélodie de Saint-Victor et non les mélodies aquitaines.

Citons enfin pour mémoire des proses très répandues à cette époque et dont la présence ici n'a pas de signification particulière:

f. 8 *Victime paschali laudes*

f. 8v *Mane prima sabbati*

f. 28 *Veni sancte spiritus*

f. 53 *Verbum bonum et suave*

f. 59 *Salve crux arbor vite preclara*

Pour résumer, ce prosaire comporte quelques compositions propres mais principalement un répertoire bien attesté à son époque avec quelques proses devenues universelles, des proses parisiennes, une nette influence de l'Aquitaine, en particulier de Saint-Léonard et de Saint-Martial. Si l'on excepte cette grande abbaye l'on remarque que ce sont surtout, avec les Cisterciens et les Augustins, les nouveaux ordres religieux émergeant au XIII^e siècle qui ont bien accueilli nombre de ces compositions. Sans doute répondaient-elles davantage aux nouvelles expressions de la spiritualité et de la pastorale.

*Les Versets d'Alleluia du Prosaire*³⁷

Quelques Alleluia avec verset figurent dans le prosaire, pour des fêtes qui recevaient une vénération particulière:

Les deux fêtes de Saint Etienne de Muret, Saint Jean Baptiste, Sainte Catherine (deux Alleluias), Saint Nicolas et la Dédicace. Certains Alleluia ont été empruntés à un matériel bien diffusé en Aquitaine:

V. *Tu puer*: Saint Jean-Baptiste

V. *Fundata est*: Dédicace

D'autres Alleluia semblent être des compositions originales ou propres à l'Ordre:

V. *Rosa virens*: Saint Etienne

V. *O bone pastor Stephane*: Saint Etienne

V. *Percussa gladio* sur une mélodie connue: Sainte Catherine

V. *Ave decus castitatis*: Sainte Catherine

V. *O Nicholae tumulus*: Saint Nicolas

³⁷ Voir ci-dessous le relevé des versets d'Alleluia du prosaire.

Partie d'un autre manuscrit insérée dans le prosaire (f. 84-104v)

Cette partie, contenant un office de Saint Etienne de Muret dont une des fêtes est le 30 août, et la messe *De Beata* qui peut, avec ses pièces polyphoniques, être chantée le 15 août ou le 8 septembre, pourrait passer pour une partie d'un manuscrit plus important. Cependant l'assemblage d'un office suivi d'Alleluia et de proses, d'une messe suivie de proses donne à penser qu'il s'agit plutôt de deux cahiers ayant fait l'objet d'un choix de répertoire. La messe pour la Vierge pouvait du reste être chantée assez souvent, comme le montrent les signets dont elle est pourvue.

L'office de Saint Etienne de Muret est incomplet, il lui manque les premières Vêpres, l'invitatoire, les antiennes du premier nocturne et le début du répons du premier nocturne ainsi que la fin du troisième nocturne: le verset du premier répons et les deux autres répons, la reprise du dernier étant indiquée dans le folio qui suit.³⁸

Il ne s'agit pas de l'office propre de Saint-Etienne de Muret tel qu'il a été décrit par les *Analecta Hymnica* et par Dom Becquet.³⁹ C'est un exact *contrafactum* d'un office de Saint Bernard, avec remplacement de *Bernardus* par *Stephanus* et quelques changements dans l'ordonnance, résultant probablement de l'adaptation d'un cursus monastique au cursus séculier suivi dans l'ordre de Grandmont. Cet office de Saint-Bernard est cité dans la *Cantus DataBase* pour les manuscrits suivants:⁴⁰

Den Haag 70 E 4: Fragments de Tongres du XII^e au XIV^e s. Recueil liturgique de Notre Dame de Tongres (Limbourg, Belgique), f. 117-121v.⁴¹

Quelques différences séparant l'office de notre prosaire de celui de Tongres peuvent s'expliquer par le fait que ces deux manuscrits, de cursus séculier, n'ont pas retenu de l'office monastique exactement les mêmes pièces. Cependant, l'absence de deux répons de Grandmont ne permet pas de préciser la nature de cet écart. Tongres n'indique pas les petits versets.

Wien 1799 Antiphonaire cistercien XIII^e s. f. 156v.

Tout ce qui se trouve dans le prosaire de Grandmont est identifiable dans cet antiphonaire monastique qui est précédé de l'épître sur la révision du chant.⁴²

³⁸ Voir ci-dessous le relevé de l'office de Saint Etienne de Muret.

³⁹ AH, t. 18, pp. 237-239.

⁴⁰ Dir. T. BAILEY, University of Western Ontario (<http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>).

⁴¹ Ce manuscrit (To) comprend quelques offices, dont ceux de la Conception de la Vierge, Saint Materne, Corpus Christi, Saint Barthélémy, Les Onze mille vierges, Saint Bernard, Saint Jean devant la Porte latine.

⁴² (Ms: Wn) Ff. 1a-e: *Epistola S. Bernardi De revisione cantus Cisterciensis*, et *Tractatus cantum quem Cisterciensis Ordinis ecclesiae cantare*.

*Les polyphonies*⁴³

Les polyphonies copiées dans ce manuscrit grandmontain concernent des chants de la messe *De Beata Maria Virgine* qui sont pourvus de tropes ou prosules, et principalement des chants de l'Ordinaire: *Gloria*, *Sanctus Mater patris*, *Agnus Salvificans*, *Sanctus Benedictus Marie filius*, *Agnus Crimina tollis*, plus l'incipit de l'offertoire de la messe et sa prosule. Le trope polyphonique *Salvificans matrem* n'a pas pu être identifié, quoique la mélodie de base, normalement chantée pour les messes de la Vierge, soit connue. Quant au *Sanctus Benedictus Marie filius*, nous n'avons pu identifier ni sa polyphonie ni même sa mélodie de base, sans doute ont-elles été composées ensemble.

Pour les autres chants polyphoniques, les références trouvées relèvent surtout de la mouvance de l'Ecole Notre-Dame (Wolffenbüttel), ou de ses prolongements en Angleterre (Paris, BnF, lat. 11411, Evreux 17) ou en Espagne, avec Las Huelgas, Burgos, Barcelone. Comme l'Espagne et l'Angleterre, le prieuré de Macheret, d'où provient cette partie de notre manuscrit, a eu connaissance de ces polyphonies qui se répandaient un peu partout en ce début du XIVe siècle. Il faut cependant souligner l'influence non négligeable des abbayes cisterciennes qui interprétaient ces polyphonies, en Espagne et particulièrement en Suisse. Et ceci est à rapprocher de l'emprunt de l'office de Saint Bernard copié dans notre manuscrit juste avant la messe *De Beata Maria Virgine*. Les polyphonies rapportées par ce manuscrit répondent à un style qui a pu être caractérisé comme 'simple', par opposition aux riches inventions des compositeurs renommés de la même époque. Restant proches d'un style improvisatoire, comme l'attestent les nombreuses variantes entre les versions existantes (ex. *Sanctus* f. 98v et *Agnus Crimina tollis* f. 99v) elles n'ont pas laissé un grand nombre de témoins écrits, ce qui accroît l'intérêt de notre manuscrit.

Nous pouvons déduire de ces analyses que les deux parties du manuscrit transmettent des influences un peu divergentes.

Le manuscrit principal est riche en proses dites parisiennes, comme il est normal à cette époque, mais il compte aussi des proses qui ne possèdent des corrélats que dans le Sud, ainsi que des traces d'influences limousines. Certaines habitudes musicales, le style des pièces uniques, ou, pour quelques autres proses bien connues, une certaine préférence donnée au degré sous le demi-ton – chose rare pour l'époque – accusent ses origines aquitaines. Il aurait donc pu être copié en Limousin auprès de la maison mère, car il n'est au demeurant pas surprenant de trouver au XIVe siècle dans cette région une notation carrée.⁴⁴

⁴³ Voir ci-dessous le répertoire de la messe *De Beata Maria Virgine* ainsi que la liste et l'identification des polyphonies.

⁴⁴ Les manuscrits Paris, BnF lat. 1132 et 1139 comportent des parties en notation carrée, rapportées au XIIIe siècle. Cf. J. CHAILLEY, «Les Anciens tropaires et séquentaires de l'Ecole Saint-Martial de Limoges», *Etudes grégoriennes*, II (1957) p. 184, 187.

La partie insérée comporte au f. 92v une addition mentionnant le prieuré de Macheret
'Beate Marie de Machereto'.



Exemple 2: BnF Nal 2680, f. 91v. Gloria polyphonique et indication: 'Beate Marie de Machereto'.

Plusieurs indices permettent de penser que cette partie a pu être copiée en Champagne. L'office de Saint Etienne n'est pas l'office propre du saint qui était en usage dans l'Ordre, mais celui de Saint Bernard avec la seule distinction du nom du saint. Des pièces polyphoniques identifiées sont en rapport avec le répertoire de l'Ecole Notre-Dame ou avec Las Huelgas. Les Alleluia pour la messe *De Beata* sont identifiables, alors que ceux qui sont dans la partie principale sont pour la plupart inédits. Cependant, si les pièces contenues dans la partie insérée, c'est-à-dire venant du prieuré de Macheret, marquent leur différence, des traces aquitaines n'en sont pas complètement absentes, comme le montre l'origine limousine de quelques Alleluia, ainsi que la prédominance des identifications espagnoles dans les polyphonies. L'abbaye mère continuait donc à exercer son influence sur des prieurés éloignés, par ailleurs soucieux de leur implantation locale, comme celui de Sainte Marie de Macheret.

ANNEXES

I. PROSES

II. VERSETS D'ALLELUIA DANS LE PROSAIRE

III. OFFICE DE SAINT ETIENNE DE MURET

IV. MESSE DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE

V. VERSETS D'ALLELUIA DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE

VI. POLYPHONIES

I. PROSES

1	<IN EPIPHANIA>	<i><Epiphaniam>... laudibus</i>
1	IN PURIFICATIONE	<i>Lux advenit veneranda</i>
3v	STEPHANI	<i>In hoc festo confessoris</i>
5	IN ANNUNTIATIONE BEATE MARIE V.	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena</i>
6v	DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE	<i>Ab arce sydereae</i>
8	IN PASCHA DOMINI	<i>Victime paschali laudes</i>
8v	Add.: Fer. IIa	<i>Mane prima sabbati</i>
10	Add.: Fer. IIIa	<i>Ecce dies celebris</i>
12	Add.: Fer IVa	<i>Sexta passus feria</i>
13	Add.: Fer Va	<i>Salve dies dierum gloria</i>
14v	Add.: Fer VIa	<i>Mundi renovatio</i>
15v	<IN PASCHA>	<i>Morte Christi celebrata</i>
18	<IN PASCHA>	<i>Pascha Christi resurgentis</i>
19	PHILIPPI ET IACOBI APOSTOLORUM	<i>In hac die iubilemus</i>
20	IN INVENTIONE SANCTE CRUCIS	<i>Laudes crucis attollamus</i>
22v	IN ASCENSIONE DOMINI	<i>Rex omnipotens</i>
24v	<IN ASCENSIONE>	<i>Omnes gentes plaudite</i>
26	IN DIE PENTHECOSTES	<i>Sancti spiritus adsit</i>
28	<ALIA PROSA>	<i>Veni sancte spiritus</i>
28v	DE TRINITATE	<i>Profitentes unitatem</i>
30v	IOHANNIS BAPTISTE	<i>Precursoris et baptiste</i>
33	SANCTI IOHANNIS BAPTISTE	<i>Ad honorem tuum Christe</i>
35v	DE SANCTO PETRO	<i>Gaude Roma caput mundi</i>
37v	PETRI ET PAULI APOSTOLORUM CHRISTI	<i>Roma Petro gloriatur</i>
40	DE SANCTO MARCIALE	<i>Exultemus sic in Deum</i>

41	SANCTI PAULI	<i>Salve doctor gentium</i>
42v	Add.: Sancte Marie Magdalene	<i>Prima dies sabbati*</i>
42v	Add.: De Sancta Anna, quere post prosam Dedicationis	
42v	DE SANCTO LAURENTIO	<i>Prunis <datum> [assum]</i>
45	IN ASSUMPTIONE BEATE MARIE	<i>A<u>rea virga prime matris</i>
47	DE SANCTA MARIA Add.: Die IIa	<i>Salve mater salvatoris vas</i>
48	DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE Add.: IIIa	<i>Hodierne lux diei celebris</i>
49	DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE Add.: IIIa	<i>Ave mundi spes Maria ave mitis</i>
50v	ALIA DE BEATA MARIA Add.: Va	<i>Stella maris o Maria expers</i>
51v	DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE Add.: VIa	<i>Salve sancta Christi parens</i>
52v	Add.: VIIa	<i>Ave virgo gratiosa*</i>
53	ALIA PROSA Add.: VIIIa	<i>Verbum bonum et suave</i>
53v	DE SANCTI IOHANNE BAPTISTA ⁴⁵	<i>Precursorem <summi> [suum]</i>
56	IN NATIVITATE BEATE M. V. MATRIS DEI	<i>Nativitas Marie virginis</i>
57v	ALIA PROSA	<i>Utherus virgineus totus</i>
59	IN EX<ALTATIONE> SANCTE <CRUCIS>	<i>Salve crux arbor vite</i>
60	<DE SANCTO MICHAELE>	<i><Laus erumpat> invigilat virus</i>
61	SANCTORUM VIRGINUM COLONIE	<i>Virginis egregie virgines</i>
62	DE OMNIBUS SANCTIS COMMUNITER VEL DE UNO	<i>Superne matris gaudia</i>
63v	UNIUS VEL PLURIMORUM	<i>Hii sancti quorum/cuius hodie</i>
63v	SANCTI MARTINI CONFESSORIS PONTIFICIS	<i>Ad Martinum titulum</i>
66	DE SANCTA KATERINA	<i>Vox sonora nostri chori</i>
68v	DE SANCTO ANDREA	<i>Exultemus et letemur</i>
70v	DE SANCTO NICHOLAO	<i>Congaudentes exultemus</i>
72v	DE DEDICATIONE ECCLESIE	<i>Iherusalem et Syon filie</i>
74v	PROSA	<i>Rex Salomon fecit templum</i>
76v	IN DIE DOMINICA POST RESURRECTIONEM DOMINI	<i>Lux illuxit dominica</i>
77v	DE BEATA ANNA MATER (sic) DE BEATA MARIA	<i>Gloriose Marie matrem</i>
78v	PLURIMORUM APOSTOLORUM VEL UNIUS	<i>Celi solem inmitantes</i>
79v	<DE BEATA>	<i>Divino balsamo mundus</i>

⁴⁵ La rubrique, corrigée en: *Decollatio sancti Iohannis Baptiste*, précède l'Alleluia qui est suivi de la prose, f. 54.

81	DE BEATA MARIA	<i>Ad superne gremium matris</i>
82v	<DE BEATA>	<i>Ave novi luminis stella promens</i>
89	IN NATALE SANCTI STEPHANI CONFESSORIS	<i>Quasi celsa platanus ... Stephanus pater grandimontis.</i>
101	<DE BEATA> Add. marge inf. non notée	<i>Ave virgo virginum ave lumen Ave novi luminis*</i>
102	<DE BEATA>	<i>Marie preconio serviat</i>
102v	<DE BEATA>	<i>Ave virgo gloriosa celi iubar</i>
104v	DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE	<i>Ave virgo graciososa</i>
105v	BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	<i>Laudes eterni numinis</i>
107	BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	<i>Rosa veris paradisus</i>
107v	BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	<i>Ave virgo singularis celi</i>
109	Autre main : TEMPORE PASCHE	<i>Surgit Christus cum tropheo</i>
111	Autre main : TEMPORE PASCHALI, PROSA BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	<i>Virginis (sic) Marie laudes</i>
111v	Autre main: <DE BEATA M. V.>	<i>Benedicta es celorum regina ...</i>
112	Autre main: <DE BEATA M. V.>	<i>Letabundus exultet fidelis</i>

II. VERSETS D'ALLELUIA DANS LE PROSAIRE

F. 3. SANCTI STEPHANI (8 février)

Alleluya. Rosa virens mirifica pater Grandimontensium

Tu pro nobis lux celica, roga virginis filium.

Mélodie: F abc dbc FGa bGa aGG, F Fac dbc fec ddc ca baGF baGaF

Al- le -lu -ia

F. 53v. DE (add: DECOLLATIO) SANCTI IOHANNIS BAPTISTE (29 août).

Alleluya. Tu puer propheta altissimi vocaberis

*preibis ante dominum parare vias eius.*⁴⁶

Mélodie, mode de D sur le timbre *Dies sanctificatus, Video* etc.

⁴⁶ Paris, BnF, lat. 903, f. 98v.; 776, f. 98v.; Bénévent, Bibl. capit. 34, 197v. Voir aussi K. SCHLAGER, *Alleluia-Melodien I*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1968, p. XXX.

F. 55v. IN TRANSLATIONE SANCTI STEPHANI (30 août)

Alleluya. O bone pastor Stephane

tui gregis memor Deum precare

ne obviet ei fraus Sathane

ad salutem quem cupit inpetrare

Mélodie: E GGaGahG aFG G hcd dcd eddhchaG ahG chahdd chaG ahG aF

Al -le -lu -ia

F. 65v. DE SANCTA KATHERINA (25 novembre)

Alleluya. Percussa gladio dat lac pro sanguine collo

quam manus angelica sepelivit vertice syna.

Le texte est celui d'un répons pour l'office de Sainte Catherine (AH 18, 107). Le verset d'Alleluia ne reprend que le texte du répons, sans le verset.

Mélodie de l'Alleluia V. *Laetabitur iustus*:⁴⁷ F GaFGaaG Facchah G

Al-le -lu -ia

F. 66. ITEM DE SANCTA KATERINA.

Alleluya. Ave decus castitatis, ave virgo Katerina.

Vas electum puritatis gemma cleri lux divina

Flos virginum et virtutis lucerna iusticie

*Tu sis nobis dux salutis in die miserie.*⁴⁸

Mélodie: Facc, aGac dccb ccaF GaF EFD FE GaG chahG aGE FED FGaFGGF

Al -le -lu -ia

On remarquera qu'un des Alleluia de la messe *DE BEATA* comporte quelques mots similaires: f. 94 *Summe decus sanctitatis, ... vas electum deitatis*; le reste du texte et les mélodies sont différentes.

F. 70. PRO SANCTO NICHOLAO (6 décembre)

Alleluya. O Nicholae tumulus tuus distillat oleum

Cuius servatur rivulus ad infirmorum curam;

Sana presentem cuneum

A febris causantibus

Mortem non defecturam.

⁴⁷ *Graduale triplex*, Solesmes, 1979, p. 479.

⁴⁸ Un trope de Sanctus pour la fête de Saint Jean l'Évangéliste a le même incipit, la suite est différente (AH, 48, 454:

*Anon. Stirpinensis, dans un missel cistercien, Oberinnthal, XIVe s.).

Mélodie D FFGaF GabGaaF GEF F baGacc Fcdbc aGFbaF GEDDFF GaF GEF

Al-le -lu -ya

F. 72v. DE DEDICATIONE ECCLESIE

Alleluya. Fundata est <domus> domini super verticem moncium et exaltata est super omnes colles.

Texte et mélodie dans les graduels aquitains.⁴⁹

Mélodie mode de D: DaaGa GFED FGEDFFDCC' D aaG aaF ...

Al -le -lu -ya

III. OFFICE DE SAINT ETIENNE DE MURET, suivi d'ALLELUIA ET PROSE

84. <R. *Prima virtus viri* > ... *appareret in eo* **Wn To**

V. *Totum in eo* **Wn To**

R. *Virtute multa* **Wn To**

V. *A puericia requisivit* **Wn To**

84v. R. *In timore Dei patris* **To Wn**

V. *Pastor populi. Gloria* **Wn To**

84v. IN II° NOCTURNO

A. *Consurgens / diluculo* **Wn To**

85. <Ps.> *Cum invocarem.*

A. *In testamentis pacis* **Wn To**

Ps. *Verba mea*

A. *Exaltavit dominus* **Wn To**

Ps. *Domine dominus*

V. *Iustum deduxit dominus. Et ostendit* **Wn**

R. *Acceptit vir sanctus* **Wn To**

85v. V. *Addidit ei gloriam* **Wn To**

R. *Lex veritatis* **Wn**

V. *In pace et equitate* **Wn To**

⁴⁹ Paris, BnF, lat. 776, 780, 903, 1084; Londres, Br. Libr. Harl 4951. Voir K. SCHLAGER, *op. cit.*, I p. 189 et 596.

86. R. *Testamentum eternum* Wn
V. *Magnalia honoris. Gloria patri* Wn

IN III° NOCTURNO

- A. *Quasi oliva pullulans* Wn To
86v. <Ps.> *In domino confido*
<A.> *Porrexit manum suam* Wn To
<Ps.> *Domine quis habitabit*
<A> *Ampliavit gentem suam* Wn To
<Ps.> *Domine in virtute*

<V>. *Amavit eum dominus. Stola glorie* Wn

<R.> *Beatus Stephanus quasi vas auri* Wn To

Un folio manque: V, R, V, R, V.

- 87 ... *filio et spiritui sancto. Et dilexit.*

ANTIPHONE IN LAUDIBUS SIMILITER ET IN VESPERAS.

- <A> *Domum tuam domine decet sanctitudo* Wn To
Ps. *Dominus regit*
A. *Honoravit Deum* Wn To
Ps. *Iubilare Deo*
<A.> *Extulit manus suas* Wn To
Ps. *Deus Deus meus*
87v. A. *Dedit dominus* Wn To
Ps. *Benedicite*
A. *Replevit sanctum* Wn To
Ps. *Laudate*

V. *Benedictio domini super caput iusti / Memoria eius* Wn To

A. AD BENEDICTUS. *Benedictus dominus Deus* Wn To

88 Ps. *Benedictus*.

IN DIE AD VESPERAS DICITUR ANTIPHONA DE LAUDIBUS CUM PSALMIS DE FERIIS.

Exultet in domino spiritus **Wn To**

Ps. *Magnificat*.

A. IN COMMEMORATIONE SANCTI STEPHANI CONFESSORIS PER TOTUM
ANNUM AD VESPERAS

Beatus Stephanus ab infantia **Wn To**

88v. *Seculorum Amen*.

V. *Glorificavit in conspectu*

ANTIPHONA AD MATUTINAS

Exaltavit dominus in eternum **Wn To**

Seculorum Amen.

V. *Benedictio domini super caput iusti / Memoria* **Wn To**

IN NATALE SANCTI STEPHANI CONFESSORIS

Alleluia. <V>. *Rosa virens mirifica pater grandimontensium tu pro!*

89 *lorum memor operum, sta coram summo iudice pro tuo cetu pauperum.*⁵⁰

Prosa. *Quasi celsa platanus crevit sacer Stephanus pater grandimontis.*

IV. OFFICIUM BEATE MARIE IN MISSA⁵¹

90v. <A> *Salve sancta parens... regem*⁵²

<Ps.> *Virgo Dei genitrix. Gloria patri*

(Trope de Kyrie) *O Maria lux virginum... eleyson*⁵³

⁵⁰ Ce texte présente une difficulté. Il commence comme l'Alleluia du f. 3v mais continue autrement, sans faire sens. S'il manquait une partie du texte, il manquerait deux folios car il s'agit du centre d'un cahier. Il n'est pas impossible qu'on ait composé, comme pour la messe *De Beata* plusieurs Alleluia pour la fête de Saint Etienne. Ils auraient pu alors être composés sur le même timbre car la fin de cet Alleluia est dans le même mode et le même style que le début et que l'Alleluia du f. 3v. Cependant des erreurs dans la copie de cet Alleluia ne sont pas à exclure.

⁵¹ Voir ci-dessous les références des Alleluia et des polyphonies.

⁵² L'introït est incomplet. Cf. *Graduale Triplex*, Solesmes, 1979, p. 403.

⁵³ Mélodie du Kyrie *Pater summe*: Mss. Paris, BnF lat. 1134, Saint-Martial, f. 2v, add. XIIIe s. (M. MELNICKI, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters*. Diss., Erlangen, 1954, n° 47) et lat. 5247 Saint Robert de la Chaise Dieu, XIVe s., f. 147v (M. MELNICKI, *op.cit.*, n° 67).

91v. Add.: Beate Marie de Machereto

91v. *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (IX) (polyphonique, 2 voix)

91v-92v.<Trobe> *Spiritus et alme/ Primogenitus Marie/ Ad Marie/*

Lacune

93. <Alleluya>. *Ante thronum Trinitatis> ... miserata pia mater*

93. *Alleluya. O mediatrix pauperum*

93v. *Alleluya. Rosa mundi rosa munda*

94. *Alleluya. Nigra sum sed formosa filie Iherusalem*

94. *Alleluya. Summe decus sanctitatis, vas electum*

94v. *Alleluya. Virga Iesse floruit*

<Off.> *Recordare virgo mater* (pol. 2 vx)

95. (Prosule) *Ab hac familia tu propicia* (pol. 2 vx)

95v. HIC DEBET ESSE SANCTUS BEATE MARIE REQUIRE RETRO IN FINE CATERNUM

95v. Sanctus (IV)⁵⁴

96. Sanctus... (Prose d'Osanna) *Mater patris filia servorum* (pol. 2 vx)

97. Agnus Dei (IX)⁵⁵

97v. (Trobe) *Salvificans matrem laudando* (pol. 2 vx)

98. Agnus Dei (XVII)⁵⁶

98v. <A.> *Ave regina celorum mater regis angelorum*⁵⁷

98v. Sanctus

99. (Trobe) *Benedictus Marie filius qui venit* (pol. 2 vx)

99v. (Trobe d'Agnus IX)⁵⁸ *Crimina tollis aspera mollis agnus honoris* (pol. 3 et 2 voix)

⁵³ Mélodie du Kyrie *Pater summe*: Mss. Paris, BnF lat. 1134, Saint-Martial, f. 2v, add. XIIIe s. (M. MELNICKI, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters*. Diss., Erlangen, 1954, n° 47) et lat. 5247 Saint Robert de la Chaise Dieu, XIVe s., f. 147v (M. MELNICKI, *op.cit.*, n° 67).

⁵⁴ Monodique. Cf. P. J. THANNABAUR, *Das einstimmige Sanctus*, München, 1962 (Erlangen Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft I), n° 49.

⁵⁵ Cf. M. SCHILDBACH, *Das einstimmige Agnus Dei und seine handschriftliche Ueberlieferung vom 10 bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*. Diss., Erlangen, 1967, n° 114.

⁵⁶ M. SCHILDBACH, *op.cit.*, n° 34. Les mélodies des phrases 2 et 3 sont inversées par rapport à la version du *Graduale triplex*, p. 766.

⁵⁷ Même texte, même mélodie que *Paroissien romain* n° 800, Solesmes, 1962, p. 1864. Ul. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, Louvain, 1892, n° 2072, XIVe s.

⁵⁸ M. SCHILDBACH, *op. cit.*, n° 114.

100. Sanctus (IV)⁵⁹
 100v. (Prose d'Osanna) *Celeste preconium sonet vox fidelium ad Dei magnalia*
 101. (Pr.) *Ave virgo virginum ave lumen luminum*
 Add. marge inférieure: *Ave novi luminis, quere ante officium Sancti Stephani, retro.*
 102. (Pr.) *Marie preconio serviat cum gaudio*
 102v. (Pr.) *Ave virgo gloriosa celi iubar mundi rosa*
 104. SANCTUS BEATE MARIE. *Sanctus*⁶⁰
 104v. PROSA DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE. *Ave virgo graciosa virgo mater gloriosa.*

V. VERSETS D'ALLELUIA DE LA MESSE DE BEATA

Le folio 93 commence au milieu d'un Alleluia. Il manque au moins un folio qui devait contenir la fin du Gloria, un graduel et le début de l'Alleluia.

93. <Alleluia. V. *Ante thronum trinitatis*
miserorum> miserata
pia mater pietatis
sis pro nobis advocata
causam nostre paupertatis
coram Deo sustine
et veniam de peccatis
servis tuis obtine

Mélodie en 5^e mode, transcription par K. Schlager d'après Chartres, Bibl. Mun. 529, f. 144, et pour l'Alleluia: Paris, BnF lat. 1106, f. 498v; Autun, BM S.143, f. 191v.⁶¹

Nombreuses références, les plus anciennes sources, du XIII^e s. proviennent de Châlons sur Marne, de Chartres, de Paris,⁶² puis diffusion vers le Centre de la France et l'Allemagne.

93. *Alleluya. O mediatrix pauperum*
Maria gemma virginum
ora benigna dominum
prolapsis mater Christi

⁵⁹ P. J. THANNABAUR, *op.cit.*, n° 49.

⁶⁰ Cette mélodie en mode de G semble unique. La mélodie n° 53 de P. J. Thannabaur pourrait, par son organisation générale, lui être comparée mais elle reste encore assez éloignée.

⁶¹ K. SCHLAGER, *op. cit.*, II, p. 37, 584.

⁶² Chartres, Bibl. mun. 529; Paris, Bibl. Ars. 595.

*et mole pressis criminum
propicium fac filium
virgo quem genuisti.*

Ce verset d'Alleluia qui semble unique est composé sur une mélodie très proche de celle de versets commençant sur les mots *O consolatrix pauperum* transcrite par K. Schlager d'après des sources de Troyes et de Reims.⁶³ Ces mélodies sont assez répandues, sur plusieurs textes, mais K. Schlager ne cite pas *O mediatrix pauperum*. Les sources mentionnées pour ce timbre sont nombreuses, parmi lesquelles on peut citer en France, Paris (Célestins), Nevers, Angers, Autun, Troyes, Châlons, en Suisse, Sitten, Engelberg, en Allemagne, Autriche, Europe centrale. On remarquera particulièrement ici les sources champenoises.

93v. *Alleluya. Rosa mundi rosa munda
munda mundum et emunda
nos quos Christus lavit unda
luce pone in iocunda
ne nos perdat mors secunda.*

Pour K. Schlager, la seule référence est un manuscrit de la cathédrale de Sitten (1^e m. XIV^e s.), d'après lequel il donne la transcription.⁶⁴

94. *Alleluya. Nigra sum sed formosa filie Iherusalem
sicut pellis Salomonis nolite considerare quod fusca sim
quia decoloravit me sol.*

Interversion des phrases *Filie Iherusalem/sicut pellis*.

Transcription par K. Schlager d'après Autun, Bibl. Mun., 143, f. 190.⁶⁵

A peu près les mêmes références que le V. *Ante thronum*: Champagne, Paris, le Centre, l'Allemagne, mais aussi Sitten comme pour le V. *Rosa mundi*. On se souviendra que quelques proses du même manuscrit se trouvent aussi à Sitten (f. 81 *De Beata, Ad superne gremium*) et que des proses de la fin du manuscrit sont aussi présentes en Suisse, en particulier dans des monastères cisterciens: Hauterive, Agaune.

94. *Alleluya. Summe decus sanctitatis
vas electum deitatis
virgo maria virginum
ora pro nobis dominum
fructum ventris tui*

⁶³ K. SCHLAGER, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 312-315, 703-711.

⁶⁴ SCHLAGER, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 430, 765: Sitten, Kapitelarchiv 48 (X,5), f. 127v (CXXVv).

⁶⁵ SCHLAGER, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 287, 694.

Mélodie mode de D: C' D EFG FGaGFEDD C' D

Al -le

-lu -ya

Transcription de K. Schlager d'après la seule autre source, une addition du XIIIe s. à un manuscrit de Saint-Martial.⁶⁶

94v. *Alleluya. Virga Iesse floruit*
virgo Deum et hominem genuit
pacem Deus reddidit
in se reconcilians yma summis.

Diffusion à partir du XIIe s.⁶⁷

VI. POLYPHONIES

91v. *Gloria in excelsis Deo*
(Trobe) *Spiritus et alme orphanorum paraclite*
Primogenitus Marie virginis matris
Ad marie glo /<riam>

A l'exception de la première phrase qui est monodique, le Gloria sur la mélodie IX et le trope sont notés à deux voix. La copie est interrompue au milieu du troisième élément de trope, car il manque un folio. Addition en marge inférieure du 92v: *Qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.*

Le *Cantus firmus* du trope est le même que celui des autres sources, anglo-normande et espagnoles.⁶⁸ Le duplum suit de loin les autres manuscrits avec de nombreuses variantes, empruntant soit au duplum soit au triplum de la version à trois voix de Las Huelgas. *Spiritus et alme* commence comme les autres; *orphanorum* emprunte au triplum de Las Huelgas; *Paraclite* retrouve le duplum; *Primogenitus* suit le même

⁶⁶ SCHLAGER, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 506, 800: Paris, BnF, lat. 1134, f. 3v.

⁶⁷ SCHLAGER, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 636; II, p. 560, 822: transcription d'après Amiens, BM 161, f. 7 (XIVe s.), Autun, 143, f. 194 (XVe s.), Aachen, XII, f. 111 (XIIIe s.).

⁶⁸ D'après G. REANEY, éd., *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, (RISM) B 1V/1, p. 866: Evreux, Bibl. mun., 17, XIIIe s., f. 11v. provenant de Lire, et peut-être écrit dans un prieuré anglais, Wareham; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20324, XIIIe s., f. 212v; Burgos, Monasterio de La Huelgas, 'c.1325', f. 4-5v; Burgos, Parròquia de Sant Esteve, f. 10-10v. Voir les éditions et transcriptions: A. MACHABEY «Problèmes de notation musicale», in *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature romanes à la mémoire d'Istvan Frank*, 1957, p. 364 et 378, fac-sim. 2. H. ANGLÈS, *El Còdex musical de Las Huelgas*, t. I, pp. 119-120, t. III n° 6. Du même auteur, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid I*, Madrid, 1946, p. 154. N. S. JOSEPHSON, «Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Missa de beata Virgine», in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, t. 57, 1973, pp. 37-43. Max LÜTOLE, *Die Mehrstimmigen Ordinarium Missae-Sätze vom ausgehenden 11. bis zur Wende des 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert*, II, Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, 1970, pp. 69-86. Bernhold SCHMID, *Der Gloria-tropus Spiritus et alme bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Tutzing, Schneider, 1998, Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, t. 46, p. 117.

mouvement que le duplum, transposé à la quinte supérieure, et le retrouve sur le même niveau au milieu et à la fin de la phrase. La phrase *Ad Mariam* commence comme *Primogenitus* mais n'est pas terminée.

94v. <Offertoire>. *Recordare virgo mater dum steteris in conspectu (...) indignationem suam*

<Prose>. *Ab hac familia tu propicia*

Le premier mot de l'offertoire, *Recordare*, et la prose sont à deux voix.

Cette prosule relève plutôt du genre prose, à la manière des proses d'*Osanna*: chaque phrase, sauf la dernière, est chantée deux fois, avec refrain *Ave Maria*. Assonances en a. La prose est presque entièrement polyphonique. La fin, probablement reprise par le chœur, est monodique: *-ria A nobis*. La coupure dans le mot *Maria*, en fin de ligne, est probablement une erreur. La version polyphonique de cet offertoire avec sa prosule vient de l'Ecole Notre-Dame et se retrouve en Espagne.⁶⁹ L'offertoire entier est en polyphonie dans Las Huelgas.⁷⁰

96. *Sanctus...Mater patris filia servorum suspiria audi virgo florida.*

Prose d'*Osanna*, chaque phrase chantée deux fois. Polyphonie à deux voix sur la mélodie du Sanctus IV. La mélodie de base est la même que celle de l'autre prose d'*Osanna*, monodique, *Celeste preconium* (f. 100v), laquelle est écrite pour deux voix dans le manuscrit de Las Huelgas.⁷¹ Le duplum de *Mater patris filia* est différent.

Un autre incipit, qui pourrait paraître similaire, *Mater patris et filia*, est noté dans les sources espagnoles de Las Huelgas et Madrid, dépendantes de l'Ecole Notre-Dame.⁷² Mais le texte des sources espagnoles évolue différemment du Sanctus, leur style est celui d'un conduit très orné, alors que celui de Grandmont est presque syllabique, et les mélodies quoique rapprochées par l'ornementation du septième mode sont différentes.

97. Agnus Dei (IX)

Trope : *Salvificans matrem laudando perhempne Mariam*

In cruce cognoscens matrem pietate Mariam

Terrea pacificans per matrem cuncta Mariam.

Agnus et trope à deux voix sur la mélodie de l'Agnus IX.⁷³

⁶⁹ D'après RISM B IV/1, p. 824: Wolffenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek 628 (W I), f. 192v-193; Las Huelgas, f. 8v-9v; Barcelona, Biblioteca del Orfeo Català, 1, f. 3-3v.

⁷⁰ Cf. H. ANGLÈS, *El Còdex musical de Las Huelgas*, t. I, pp. 122-123, t. III n°12.

⁷¹ RISM B IV/1, p. 831. Las Huelgas f. 32. Cf. ANGLÈS, I, pp. 149-150, III, n°48; il ne connaît que cette version à deux voix mais cite nombre de sources catalanes et aquitaines pour la version à une voix.

⁷² Cf. RISM B IV/1, p. 852: Las Huelgas, ff. 147-150; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486, XIIIe s., f. 117v-118v. Cf. H. ANGLÈS, *Ibid.*, t. I, pp. 340-342; t. III, n° 154.

⁷³ M. SCHILDBACH, *op. cit.*, n°114.

98v. Sanctus...*Benedictus Marie filius qui venit*

Sanctus à deux voix. L'élément de trope: *Marie filius* est cité par G. Iversen pour plusieurs tropes de Sanctus, d'origines diverses, pourvus d'autres éléments de tropes.⁷⁴ Ici il n'y en a pas d'autre.

Seul l'incipit peut être rapporté à la mélodie 69 de Thannabaur.⁷⁵ Des versions apparentées, non tropées de cet incipit se trouvent dans un manuscrit franco-anglais et dans le manuscrit de Las Huelgas.⁷⁶ Ces compositions se distinguent nettement de celle de Grandmont quoique de temps à autre puissent se reconnaître des emprunts à telle ou telle voix, même avec la version du ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 11411 qui, commençant en tetrardus comme Grandmont, se termine en protus.

Un Sanctus noté, comportant le trope *Benedictus Marie filius*, dans un fragment de Sainte Justine de Padoue, commence sur les mêmes notes, *GahGF*, mais diffère ensuite.⁷⁷

99v. *Crimina tollis aspera mollis agnus honoris*

Agnus IX tropé à trois voix, les réponses *Miserere* et *Dona nobis pacem*, à deux voix. La version polyphonique à trois voix, assez connue, de ce trope se trouve sur la mélodie IX de l'Agnus dans un manuscrit franco-anglais et en Espagne.⁷⁸ Une analyse de ses corrélats a été faite par Séverine Grassin-Guermouche à partir d'un manuscrit de l'abbaye de La Maigrauge en Suisse qui suit la mélodie XVII de l'Agnus,⁷⁹ de même qu'une autre source venant d'Engelberg.⁸⁰ Une quatrième voix a été ajoutée plus tard dans une source provenant des bénédictines de Gertrudenberg.⁸¹

⁷⁴ G. IVERSEN, *Corpus troporum VII. Tropes du Sanctus*, 1990, p. 427 (Acta Universitatis Stokholmiensis. Studia latina stockholmiensia, 34).

⁷⁵ P. J. THANNABAUR, *op. cit.*.

⁷⁶ Paris, BnF, lat. 11411, f. 44; Las Huelgas, f. 9v-11 (RISM B IV/1 pp. 415 et 213). Cf. H. ANGLÈS, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 124; t. III, n° 13. La partie du manuscrit Paris, BnF lat. 11411 concernée (44-46v.) est notée en notation carrée.

⁷⁷ K. von FISCHER, M. LÜTOLE, RISM, B IV/4. München: Henle, 1972, p. 998; Padova Bib. Univ. 1283, XV es., f. 1v: Sainte Giustina de Padova.

⁷⁸ RISM B IV/1, p. 833; Paris, BnF, lat. 11411, f. 45v. (Seul le premier vers est noté). Barcelona, Biblioteca del Orfeo Català, 1, f. 9-9v; Las Huelgas f. 19 v. Cf. H. ANGLÈS, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 135-136, t. III n° 23.

⁷⁹ S. GRASSIN, *Les Polyphonies 'simples' à la fin du Moyen Age: Etude générique et répertoire de sources*, Thèse de doctorat, Tours, 2005, t. I, pp. 273-290.

⁸⁰ Fribourg, Bibliothèque de La Maigrauge, f. 130v-141v; Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 314, '1372' f. 115v. (Ed. W. Arlt & M. Stauffacher, Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek Codex 314. Winterthur: Amadeus, 1986, fac-sim. (Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler, 11).

⁸¹ RISM B IV/3, p. 383; Osnabrück, Archiv des Bischöflichen General Vikars 15/16e. Monastère des Bénédictines de Gertrudenberg près d'Osnabrück '1505', f. 152v-154.

Breves notas sobre a representação do meio-tom nos manuscritos litúrgicos medievais portugueses, ou o mito da «notação portuguesa»

João Pedro d'Alvarenga

No *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Âge*,¹ para descrever certas particularidades notacionais — que julgava únicas — de um conjunto de trinta fragmentos e códices portugueses datados maioritariamente dos séculos XIII a XV (num universo de oitenta e cinco testemunhos dos séculos XI a XVI), Solange Corbin cunhou a expressão «notation portugaise», sobre a qual diz o seguinte:

Cette notation sort directement de la notation aquitaine dont elle a la diastématique, l'unique ligne rouge, et dont elle est comme le prolongement direct. Elle s'en différencie par son aspect plus anguleux et ses dimensions; au lieu d'un point lancé au courant de la plume, on trouve des notes carrées, parfaitement superposées. Surtout, la note inférieure du demi-ton est représentée par une virgule ou un losange, et ce système est assez régulier dans bien des manuscrits.²

Os testemunhos que Corbin expressamente refere como característicos deste tipo de notação são o chamado *Pontifical de Braga do século XIII*, P-Ln Alc. 162, copiado no primeiro terço do século XIII, o *Saltério* de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, P-Pm Ms. 114, Santa Cruz 24, datado de c.1260, e o chamado *Saltério catenatum* da Sé de Coimbra, P-Cua Cofre 27, de meados do século XIV (depois de 1340).³

A ideia de uma «notação portuguesa» saída da aquitana⁴ foi naturalmente perpetuada na historiografia da música em Portugal, perseverando mesmo depois das observações de Marie-Noël Colette

¹ Solange CORBIN, *Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Âge (1100-1385)*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1952.

² CORBIN, *op. cit.*, p. 251. Na tabela de classificação insere no fim do cap. V, entre as pp. 192-93, dos trinta testemunhos, onze são classificados nas seguintes subcategorias: «notation aquitaine avec virgule» — Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, Alc. 162 (n.º 4, séc. XII [sic]); «notation aquitaine avec virgule (1/2 ton irrégulière)» — Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, Cimélios Ms. s/c (n.º 1, c.1250); «notation aquitaine en evolution (1/2 ton irrégulière)» — Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, Cimélios Ms. s/c (n.º 2, c.1250), e Ms. s/c (n.º 3, início do séc. XIV); «notation portugaise encore irrégulière» — Porto, Arquivo Municipal, capa do Ms. 922 (n.º 1, séc. XIII); «notation portugaise avec 1/2 ton irrégulière» — Viana do Castelo, Arquivo Municipal, capa do Ms. Cisas 1598 (n.º 4, séc. XIV); «notation portugaise sans 1/2 ton» — Coimbra, Biblioteca Municipal, Roteiro 1328 (n.º 4, séc. XV), Ponte de Lima, Arquivo da Misericórdia, s/c (n.º 4, séc. XV tardio), Porto, Arquivo Municipal, capa do Ms. 962 (n.º 4, séc. XV), Viana do Castelo, Arquivo Municipal, capa do Ms. Cisas 1599 (n.º 1, final do séc. XIV), e capa do Ms. R. D. 1600 (n.º 2, séc. XIV).

³ CORBIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-57.

⁴ Sobre a notação aquitana v. [Paolo FERRETTI], «Étude sur la notation aquitaine d'après le Graduel de Saint-Yrieix»

a propósito particularmente das adições ao chamado *Missal de Mateus* (P–BRd Ms. 1000, peremptoriamente datado dos anos entre 1130 e 1150) e da origem limosina-tolosana do sistema de notação que exibem.⁵

A colação de um corpo cronológico de testemunhos, mesmo reduzido mas qualitativamente semelhante ao acervo considerado por Solange Corbin, mostrará que não existe suficiente evidência paleográfica que permita verificar a autonomização de uma «notação portuguesa», sugerindo em alternativa a ideia da persistência de um sistema de notação importado e do seu desenvolvimento regional, num quadro lato de mudança morfo-semântica da notação aquitana, que redundou na simplificação do repertório gráfico primitivo.⁶

Apesar da diversidade dos manuscritos com notação aquitana e das respectivas particularidades de expressão caligráfica, que revelam a mão dos copistas e o estilo dos *scriptoria*, o conjunto conhecido existente nas bibliotecas e nos arquivos portugueses, de origem maioritariamente local ou regional, testemunha uma tradição notacional de fio contínuo, passível de ser seguida até, pelo menos, aos finais do século XV, a partir da penetração em território portugalense da liturgia romana e dos costumes francos, particularmente os cluniacenses — por via da Abadia de Moissac, no caso de Braga — desde cerca de 1080-85, ou porventura mais cedo ainda nos meios monásticos galaico-durienses, a partir da década de 1070.⁷

Em todos e em cada um dos manuscritos considerados é possível verificar a persistência dos elementos constitutivos primários e das propriedades que caracterizam a notação aquitana. A tabela anexa — cujo comentário obrigará a produzir observações triviais, mas necessárias neste contexto — sem ser completa, reúne os elementos principais dos repertórios gráficos de cinco testemunhos

in *Le Codex 903 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (XI^e siècle): Graduel de Saint-Yrieix*, Paléographie Musicale XIII, reimpressão anastática da edição original de 1925, Berne et Francfort, Herbert Lang, 1971, pp. 54-211; Michel HUGLO, «La tradition musicale aquitaine: répertoire et notation» in *Liturgie et musique (IX^e-XIV^e s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 17, Toulouse, Privat, 1982, pp. 253-68; Josiane MAS, «La tradition musicale en Septimanie» in *Liturgie et musique...*, cit., pp. 269-86; e Marie-Noël COLETTE, et al., *Histoire de la notation: du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, [Paris], Minerve, 2003, pp. 60-63.

⁵ Marie-Noël COLETTE, «La notation du demi-ton dans le manuscrit Paris, B.N. Lat. 1139 et dans quelques manuscrits du Sud de la France» in C. LEONARDI e E. MENESTO (ed.), *La Tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1987. O *Missal de Mateus* tem ed. mod. por Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, *Missal de Mateus: manuscrito 1000 da Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Braga*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1975. A referência a «uma variante tipicamente portuguesa da notação aquitana» persiste nestes termos no compêndio de Rui Vieira NERY e Paulo Ferreira de CASTRO, *História da Música*, Sínteses da Cultura Portuguesa, Lisboa, Europália '91, IN-CM, 1991, p. 15, e no de Manuel Carlos de BRITO e Luísa CYMBRON, *História da Música Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Universidade Aberta, 1992, p. 22, onde é designada como «notação ou sistema português».

⁶ A este propósito, percorram-se as reproduções fotográficas correspondentes às Pl. 99 a 107 do volume *Le Répons-Graduel Justus ut palma reproduit en fac-similé d'après plus de deux cents antiphonaires manuscrits d'origines diverses du IX^e au XVII^e siècle*, Paléographie Musicale II, reimpressão anastática da edição original de 1891, Berne, Herbert Lang, 1974.

⁷ Para uma visão de síntese dos costumes litúrgicos medievais portugueses (origens, características, fontes e bibliografia), v. J. P. d'ALVARENGA, «Diversidade e reforma litúrgica em Portugal no século XVI» in *Polifonia portuguesa sacra tardo-quincentista*, Dissertação de Doutoramento, Universidade de Évora, 2005, vol. 1, pp. 2-59.

que podem ser considerados característicos e exemplares do corpo conhecido de manuscritos litúrgicos medievais portugueses e dos importados que lhes serviram de exemplar (com excepção dos cistercienses), compreendendo um período de cerca de cento e vinte e cinco anos, do último quartel do século XII aos finais do século XIII ou inícios do XIV. São estes manuscritos os seguintes:

P-Pm Ms. 1134, Santa Cruz 83, *Pontifical*, códice posterior a 1175, do último quartel do século XII, copiado muito possivelmente em Portugal, mas de modelos franceses — de Toulouse, ou de uma Abadia do *Midi* com ligações estreitas à Normandia — para uso da Igreja de Braga; 1 linha a ponta seca (Fig. 1).⁸

P-Ln Alc. 162, *Pontifical*, códice do 1.º terço do século XIII, copiado em Portugal de modelo francês cluniacense, mas organizado especificamente para servir a Igreja de Braga; 1 linha vermelha, *punctum* inclinado ou apóstrofe infra-semitonal (Fig. 2).⁹

P-Pm Ms. 858, Santa Cruz 77, *Ritual*, códice do início do 2.º quartel do século XIII, entre 1228 e 1230, de Santa Cruz de Coimbra; 1 linha vermelha, *punctum* inclinado infra-semitonal (Fig. 3).¹⁰

P-BRd s/c, fragmento de um *Antifonário* (responsórios de Matinas da Epifania), da 2.ª metade do século XIII, hipoteticamente bracarense; 1 linha vermelha, *punctum* inclinado ou losango infra-semitonal (Fig. 4).¹¹

P-Pm Ms. 830, Santa Cruz 67, *Gradual*, códice de finais do século XIII, ou do século XIV, de Santa Cruz de Coimbra; 1 linha vermelha, losango infra-semitonal (Fig. 5, f. da direita).¹²

⁸ V. Aires A. NASCIMENTO e José F. MEIRINHOS (coord.), *CATÁLOGO dos códices da livraria de mão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*, Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 1997, pp. 337-39. Ed. mod. parcial por Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, «Pontifical de Braga do século XII», *Didaskalia*, VII, 1977, pp. 309-98. V. também, do mesmo autor, «A adoração da Cruz na espiritualidade do Ocidente: 'ordines' inéditos da França meridional» *Didaskalia*, V, 1975, pp. 258-59 e 261-62, e «A sagração dos Reis portugueses», *Didaskalia*, XXIV, 1994, pp. 173-94. Reprodução fotográfica dos ff. 88v-89r in CORBIN, *op. cit.*, facs. IV.

⁹ V. Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, «Um Pontifical de Braga do século XIII», *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-Brasileira*, IV, 4, 1963, pp. 637-45; id., «'Ordo ad visitandum infirmum' do Pontifical de Braga do século XIII», *Didaskalia*, XI, 1981, pp. 221-38. Reprodução fotográfica do f. 12r in CORBIN, *op. cit.*, facs. III.

¹⁰ Ed. mod. Joaquim O. BRAGANÇA, *Ritual de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: Porto, Bibl. Municipal, ms. 858*, Lisboa, Autor, 1976; id., «A música do Ritual de Santa Cruz de Coimbra do séc. XIII», *Modus*, 1, 1987, pp. 37-[190], incluindo facsimiles, 1-72; v. também Pierre DAVID, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1947, pp. 544 e 553-54, e CORBIN, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

¹¹ Reprodução fotográfica in Avelino de Jesus da COSTA, *A Biblioteca e o tesouro da Sé de Braga nos séculos XV a XVIII*, Braga, 1985, Est. 47.

¹² CORBIN, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Para a datação, v. *CATÁLOGO dos códices da livraria de mão...*, pp. 292-93.

Morfologia das grafias simples

A forma comum da *virga* (1.1 na tabela anexa), usada quase exclusivamente como elemento neumático, comporta dois elementos: a haste — traçada em dois movimentos de sentido oposto até aos finais do século XIII — e a cabeça, em forma de *punctum*, inclinado ou quadrado, mais ou menos pronunciado e distintivamente virado para o lado direito.

O *punctum* assume três formas: quadrado (2.1), inclinado a cerca de 45° ou semelhante a um apóstrofe (2.2) e alongado ou rectangular (*tractulus*, 2.3). A partir dos meados do século XIII, com o aumento do peso e do módulo das grafias devido ao uso de aparos mais largos e direitos requeridos pela escrita gótica emergente, a primeira e a terceira formas assimilam-se no *punctum* quadrado, substituindo-se progressivamente o *punctum* inclinado pelo losango, mais alongado.

O *pes* comum (4.1) consiste na justaposição de um *punctum* e de uma *virga*, sempre desligados.

A *clivis* admite duas formas, uma desligada, consistindo na sobreposição de dois *puncta* alinhados mais ou menos verticalmente (3.1), outra de tipo neuma-acento, com o elemento *virga*, de cabeça alongada e deflectida na forma de um /V/ ou de um /U/ invertido, ligado ao elemento *punctum* (3.2). Esta variedade da *clivis*, ausente de uma parte dos manuscritos trecentistas mais tardios, é empregue exclusivamente como elemento neumático, encontrando-se na composição de certas formas do *porrectus* (5.2) e do *torculus* (6.2), bem como de outras grafias mais desenvolvidas, dos tipos *flexus*, *praepunctis* e *subpunctis*.

Morfologia das grafias especiais

Saliente-se a ausência de uma grafia discreta no repertório aquitano para figurar o *apostropha*, sinal diacrítico da elisão, a não ser na forma liquescente (9), semelhante ao *cephalicus* (ou *clivis* liquescente, 3.3), mas geralmente de módulo menor, traduzindo o primeiro uma liquescência aumentativa e o segundo uma liquescência diminutiva. Este signo tende a rarear nos testemunhos portugueses. As grafias que comportam um uníssono, radicalmente diferenciadas e multiformes nos sistemas de notação acentual, reduzem-se assim aos *bipuncta* (*distropha*) e aos *tripuncta* (*tristropha*), ao *trigonus* e à generalidade dos chamados neumas *strophici*, com um *punctum* apostro (*clivis strophica*, *torculus strophicus* e *climacus strophicus*).

O *oriscus*, sinal diacrítico da contracção, é muito raro nas fontes portuguesas posteriores ao início do século XIII, e surge sempre como elemento das grafias que o comportam, sejam as formas do *pressus*, *minor* e *maior*, o *franculus* ou o *salicus*. Não poucas vezes é substituído pelo *punctum*, quadrado ou liquescente, desaparecendo do repertório gráfico a partir dos meados do século XIII. A forma comum, angulosa, é semelhante ao número /3/, deitado e mais ou menos pesado (10).

O *quilisma-pes*, elemento característico de certos tipos de *scandicus* (11), consiste numa haste vertical traçada da esquerda para a direita no sentido descendente, larga e mais ou menos recurvada no topo esquerdo devido ao assentamento e ao arranque do aparo, e encimada por uma *virga*, ligada ou desconexa. A simplificação a partir dos finais do século XIII produziu a forma pesada semelhante a um /Z/ invertido, que segue o mesmo *ductus*.

Eixo da notação

Ao invés das notações francesas do norte e da catalã, o eixo ascendente é centrado nos 60° e o descendente nos 90°, com variações médias até cerca de 5°, mais frequentes e amplas no eixo ascendente.

Pontuação

Trata-se de uma característica específica da notação aquitana, no sentido de ser o *punctum*, em qualquer das suas formas, o elemento neumático primário, fundamental e tendencialmente exclusivo e, salvo poucas exceções, a única grafia radical que se encontra isolada numa sílaba. Assim, a relação melódica da *virga* e do *punctum*, originalmente de natureza acentual, verifica-se apenas, por regra, em grafias derivadas ou compostas, geralmente na sua culminância ou na sua terminação, sendo os elementos neumáticos primários escalonados — sobrepostos ou justapostos — e sempre desligados, com exceção das poucas grafias do tipo neuma-acento, sejam as radicadas na forma 3.2 da *clivis* e as suas compostas, certas formas liquescentes (3.3, 4.3, 7.2 e 8.3) e o *quilisma-pes*.

Diastematia

À semelhança dos modelos occitanos do período considerado, o sistema mais comumente usado nos manuscritos portugueses consiste na conjugação de dois elementos morfo-sintáticos: o escalonamento dos elementos neumáticos radicais e a sua disposição em torno de uma linha única. Complementarmente, pode ocorrer também o guião no fim de cada linha. Note-se que a presença de certas grafias com significação tonal precisa está longe de ser estatisticamente maioritária no conjunto dos manuscritos portugueses conhecidos.

Escalonamento dos elementos neumáticos radicais. Estes representam, cada um, uma nota, relativamente posicionados por forma a traduzirem, mais ou menos perfeitamente, a amplitude interválica, sobre as regras ímpares do pautado dos fólhos e nos espaços superior e inferior adjacentes. O escalonamento, porém, não especifica *ipso facto* a qualidade interválica.

Linha única. Vincada a ponta seca (finais do século XI a inícios do século XIII) ou riscada a tinta, amarela (por enquanto observada apenas em testemunhos datáveis da 1.^a metade do século XIII) ou vermelha (comum a partir sobretudo do início do século XIII). A linha tem em certos manuscritos significação tonal precisa, variando consoante o modo: funciona, por conseguinte, como uma linha-clave. No *Gradual de Saint-Yrieix* (F-Pn Lat. 908, de inícios do século XI), representa a terceira sobre a final no caso dos modos autênticos (1.^o modo - *F*, 3.^o - *G*, 5.^o - *A*, 7.^o - *B*♯) e a final no caso dos plagais, com excepção do quarto modo, para o qual representa a sobre-final (2.^o modo - *D*, 4.^o e 6.^o - *F*, 8.^o - *G*).¹³ Muitos testemunhos portugueses recorrem a este sistema, mas de forma nem sempre coerente: no caso, por exemplo, do *Saltério* de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, P-Pm Ms. 114, Santa Cruz 24, já referido, de inícios da segunda metade do século XIII, que contém vinte e quatro hinos notados entre os ff. 174v e 191v, nas peças que terminam em *E-mi* a linha representa a terceira sobre a final, *G* (*Urbs beata Ierusalem*), a sobre-final, *F* (*Ave maris stella* e *Conditor alme siderum*), ou a própria final (*Exultet cælum laudibus*,¹⁴ *Tē lucis ante terminum* e *Sol angelorum respice*) (Fig. 6).¹⁵

O uso da pauta (com três ou mais linhas) e de letras-clave em combinação com os signos da notação aquitana é muito raro entre os testemunhos portugueses no período considerado. Veja-se, no entanto, o caso do *Breviário* P-Pm Ms. 1151, Santa Cruz sem n.º, verosimilmente da Sé de Coimbra, de finais do século XIII, que apresenta três linhas, duas secas e a central colorida de vermelho, e letras-clave ocasionais (Fig. 7).¹⁶

Guião no fim de cada linha. Representa a posição relativa da primeira nota da linha seguinte. Este sinal complementar, embora característico da notação aquitana, não é de uso universal. Muitos manuscritos de épocas diversas não o usam senão ocasionalmente. Em certos manuscritos propriamente occitanos dos séculos XI e XII, o guião (ou a abreviatura de *aqualiter* — *eq*) é também colocado entre dois neumas, quando se altera a significação tonal da linha. Mas deste dispositivo não se encontrou ainda traço em qualquer manuscrito de origem provavelmente portuguesa.¹⁷

¹³ [FERRETTI], *op. cit.*, pp. 139 e 160-61. A norma verifica-se igualmente nas peças que terminam em *A* e em *C*.

¹⁴ Reprodução fotográfica do correspondente f. 189r in CORBIN, *op. cit.*, facs. VII.

¹⁵ Sobre a génese do significado da linha na notação diastemática aquitana e a sua recepção em Portugal, v. Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, “Notation and psalmody: a southwestern connection?”, *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Lillafüred/Hungary, 2004 Aug. 23-28*, Budapest, Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2006, pp. 621-39.

¹⁶ Sobre o Breviário P-Pm Ms. 1151 (a necessitar de estudo urgente), v. J. P. d'ALVARENGA, «Fragmento de um breviário notado bracarense do século XIII» in *Estudos de musicologia*, Lisboa, Colibri, Centro de História da Arte da Universidade de Évora, 2002, p. 19 n. 27; v. igualmente S. CORBIN, *op. cit.*, p. 189, e o *CATÁLOGO dos códices da livraria de mão...*, cit., pp. 377-78. Para o uso das letras-clave, v. também os testemunhos invocados por S. CORBIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-62.

¹⁷ V., não obstante, o caso aparentemente excepcional do Breviário P-Pm Ms. 1151, f. 73r (Fig. 7), onde, no Rp. *Stephanus autem plenus*, a pequena letra colocada sobre a linha central, imediatamente antes da presa, corrige o seu significado, de *F* para *G*.

Significação tonal precisa de certas grafias. Um sistema que assinala certos meio-tons em contextos mélicos específicos foi usado pelo copista do *Gradual de Saint-Yrieix*, contando com as seguintes grafias e respectiva significação:¹⁸

- *pes* (4.2) com *virga* «semicircular» (1.2) para as segundas menores ascendentes *mi-fa*, nas posições *E-F*, *B \sharp -C* ou *A-B \flat* . A *virga* «semicircular» assinala, por conseguinte, a nota superior do meio-tom;
- *virga* «corniforme» («*virga cornue*», na terminologia original de P. Ferretti), exclusivamente como elemento neumático de certos *pes*, *porrectus*, *torculus resupinus*, *climacus resupinus* e *scandicus*, para a nota infra-semitonal *mi*, nas posições *E*, *B \sharp* ou *A*, em sequência ascendente de uma segunda ou de uma terceira menores;
- *porrectus* formado de acentos (5.2), sempre precedido de um ou mais *puncta* (i.e. *praepunctis*), para as segundas menores em ornato inferior (*fa-mi-fa*, principiando nas posições *F*, *C* ou *B \flat*);
- *scandicus* quilismático (11), para as terceiras menores ascendentes, com o meio-tom entre as notas do *quilisma-pes* (*re-mi-fa*, principiando nas posições *D*, *A* ou *G*).

Sistema idêntico verifica-se nos manuscritos de origem portugalense P-BRd Col. Cronológica Cx. 256.2 e Cx. 280.3 — dois fólios de um mesmo *Gradual*, de finais do século XI¹⁹ — salvo o caso do *porrectus* 5.2, que não ocorre (Fig. 8). Refira-se que a convivência da notação aquitana e da escrita visigótica contaminada já pela minúscula francesa ou carolina, que estes fragmentos testemunham, é característica dos manuscritos portugalenses do período em torno a 1100.

No códice P-Pm Ms. 1134, Santa Cruz 83, *Pontifical de Braga*, do último quartel do século XII, as mesmas grafias, com exceção do *scandicus* quilismático (11), têm significação diversa, não ocorrendo também a *virga* «corniforme». O copista emprega pouco frequentemente o *pes* 4.2, sempre como neuma isolado, sem qualquer significação tonal, mas quase sempre quando a *virga* «semicircular» é no unísono da nota seguinte (51 em 52 ocorrências e 1 ocorrência de leitura duvidosa). Emprega mais frequentemente o *porrectus* 5.2 *praepunctis*, mas igualmente sem significação tonal precisa.

No chamado *Pontifical de Braga do século XIII*, P-Ln Alc. 162, o dispositivo usado para localizar o meio-tom — ora regular, ora irregularmente empregue consoante as peças — consiste na modificação da forma do *punctum* — inclinado a cerca de 45° e ligeiramente alongado, semelhante a um apóstrofe (2.3) — para escrever o *mi*, ou seja, para representar a nota inferior das segundas menores. No *Saltério* de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, P-Pm Ms. 114, Santa Cruz 24, códice de algumas décadas posterior, este dispositivo, figurando agora um losango, ocorre mais sistemática e regularmente, embora com exceções contextuais,²⁰ o que parece aliás suceder na generalidade dos manuscritos que empregam uma grafia discreta para assinalar a nota inferior dos meio-tons.

¹⁸ [FERRETTI], *op. cit.*, pp. 139 e 166 e ss.

¹⁹ Reproduções fotográficas in CORBIN, *op. cit.*, facs. IIa e IIb (Cx. 256.2), e A. J. da COSTA, *A Biblioteca e o tesouro da Sé de Braga nos séculos XV a XVIII*, Braga, 1985, Est. 27 e Est. 28.

²⁰ Cf. CORBIN, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

Como mostrou Marie-Noël Colette, a forma especial do *punctum* com significação tonal é usada em certos manuscritos oriundos de Moissac e da região de Limoges, os mais antigos datáveis do século XI e de inícios do século XII, e ocorre também nas adições ao chamado *Missal de Mateus*: na notação sobre a oração *Oremus dilectissime nobis Deum* e o *Exultet*, ff. 109r e 110v, e sobre o Evangelho *Maria Magdalene* e a epístola tropada *Apparuit gratia salvatoris nostri*, intercalados entre o calendário e o missal propriamente dito, nos ff. 7v e 8r.²¹ Porque estas adições, pelo menos as mais tardias como a do f. 7v, podem ser datadas já do século XIII, não é admissível que o *Missal de Mateus* fosse o introdutor em Portugal do *punctum* inclinado infra-semitonal. Não obstante, o dispositivo surge primeiro — e sobretudo — nos manuscritos prototípicos da liturgia bracarense,²² facto coerente com a origem limosina-tolosana dos seus exemplares, centrada em Saint-Pierre de Moissac.

O modelo notacional aquitano — com as suas características morfo-semânticas radicais (a pontuação e o escalonamento neumático, a linha única, os eixos da notação e a forma por exemplo da *virga*, com a cabeça distintivamente virada para o lado direito) e excluindo quaisquer outras, autóctones ou adquiridas por contaminação, que permitam autonomizar uma «notação portuguesa» — perdurou entre nós até depois dos anos de 1500.²³ As mudanças que foi manifestando — o aumento do módulo, a aparência angulosa e a simplificação do repertório gráfico, bem patentes no confronto do verso da última guarda anterior e do fólio inicial do *Gradual* P-Pm Ms. 830, Santa Cruz 67 (cf. Fig. 5), manuscritos entre os quais medeia mais de um século — são fundamentalmente consequência da transição de estilos caligráficos, da letra carolina para a gótica.

²¹ M.-N. COLETTE, *op. cit.*

²² V. o caso do fragmento P-Ln M.M.F. 7, estudado por J. P. d'ALVARENGA, «Fragmento de um breviário notado bracarense do século XIII» in *Estudos de musicologia*, Lisboa, Colibri, Centro de História da Arte da Universidade de Évora, 2002, pp. 11-33.

²³ V. a este propósito os exemplos invocados por J. P. d'ALVARENGA, *op. cit.*, p. 12 n. 5. A situação é certamente paralela à espanhola, visto que todos os seguintes tratados dedicam várias páginas à notação do cantochão de uma linha: Fernando ESTEBÁN, *Reglas de canto plano*, ms., 1410; Domingo Marcos DURÁN, *Lux bella*, Sevilla, 1492; Bartolomé MOLINA, *Arte de canto llano llamado Lux videntis*, Valladolid, 1503; Diego del PUERTO, *Portus musice*, Salamanca, 1504; e Gonzalo Martínez de BIZCARGUI, *Arte de canto llano*, Burgos, 1511. A notação quadrada sobre tetragrama ou pentagrama evoluída da francesa, com origem na Borgonha, foi trazida pelos cistercienses, cujas primeiras fundações em Portugal datam dos meados do século XII. Os dois sistemas, aquitano e cisterciense, coexistiram por mais de trezentos e cinquenta anos, mas em contextos distintos, com o primeiro aparentemente confinado ao âmbito dos usos diocesanos e ao dos Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho e o segundo ao uso da Ordem de Cister. Também os livros dominicanos e os jerónimos produzidos em Portugal, datáveis os mais antigos do último quartel do século XV, usam tipos comuns de notação quadrada sobre pauta, à semelhança dos que lhes terão servido de exemplar. Por outro lado, a notação quadrada de módulo grande das séries de livros de coro bracarense das décadas de 1510 e 1520 revela influências da aquitana (cf. Manuel Pedro FERREIRA, «As origens do Gradual de Braga», *Didaskalia*, XXV, 1995, pp. 59-60).

	P-Pm Ms. 1134	P-Ln Alc. 162	P-Pm Ms. 858	P-BRd frag. s/c	P-Pm Ms. 830
1. virga					
2. punctum					
3. clivis					
4. pes					
5. porrectus					
6. torculus					
7. climacus					
8. scandicus					
9. apostropha					
10. oriscus					
11. scandicus quilismático					

cantibus nomen tuum. defensionis tue sen-
tiatur auxilium. p. Et libri apocalipsis iohis
In diebus illis. Vidi ciuitatem sanctam ap-
li. ierlm nouam descendente de celo. ad eo
paratam. tamquam sponsam. ornata in
ro suo. Et audiui uocem magnam de trono.
dicentem. Ecce tabernaculum dei cum ho-
minibus. et habitabit cum eis. et ipsi populi
erunt. et ipse deus cum eis. erit cum eis. et abs-
terget deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum. et
mors ultra non erit. neque luctus. neque cla-
mor. neque dolor erit ultra. quia que prima
sunt abierunt. et dixit. qui sedebat in trono.
Ecce noua
facio omnia. **L**o- cus iste ad eo fa- ctus
est in abi- le sacra men- tu- in- prehensibilis
Deus cui a- stat- angelorum- choru-
f- graudi- pre- ces- ces- ser- uo- rum-
tua- ru- m- **N**oe- y- la-

Fig. 1. P-Pm Ms. 1134, Santa Cruz 83, f. 87v.

23 diebus illis. Vidi civitatem lēo libri apocalypsi iohis
scām ierlīm novā descēdere de cōbo adeo parā. apli.
sic spōsam cōnatā viro suo. & audiui vocē magnā de
throno dicēte. Ecce tabinaculū dī cū hōmibz; & habi-
tabit cū eis. & ipi ppl's ei erūt. & ipse d's cū eis erit eorū
d's. Et abstīget d's omēm lacrimā ab oculis eorū. & mors
ult' n̄ erit neq; luct' neq; clamor. neq; dolor erit ultra.
q̄ p̄ma abierit. Et ih̄s q̄ sedebat i thno. Ecce nova facio oīa.
Locus iste ad q̄ sacra ē est mēstrabile sacra-
mentum irreprensibilis est. & d'us cū ad stit angloz
chorus exaudi p̄ce s̄ s̄lsoni tuo rum.
Ierlū ia d'um lo ad templū sanctum
cū uis ē cōfite. uis uonim tuo.
Ierlūia. & fundamentū ē uis in
monibus s̄anc as diligit dominus p̄cas syon sup om

Fig. 2. P-Ln Alc. 162, f. 12r.

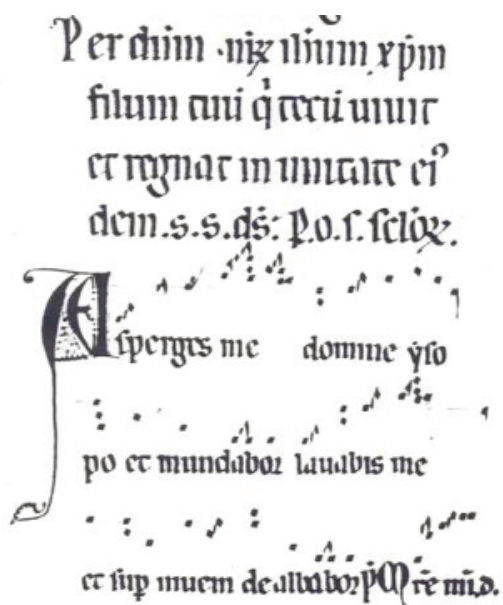


Fig. 3. P-Pm Ms. 858, Santa Cruz 77, pormenor do f. 15r.



Fig. 4. P-BRd s/c, lado recto.

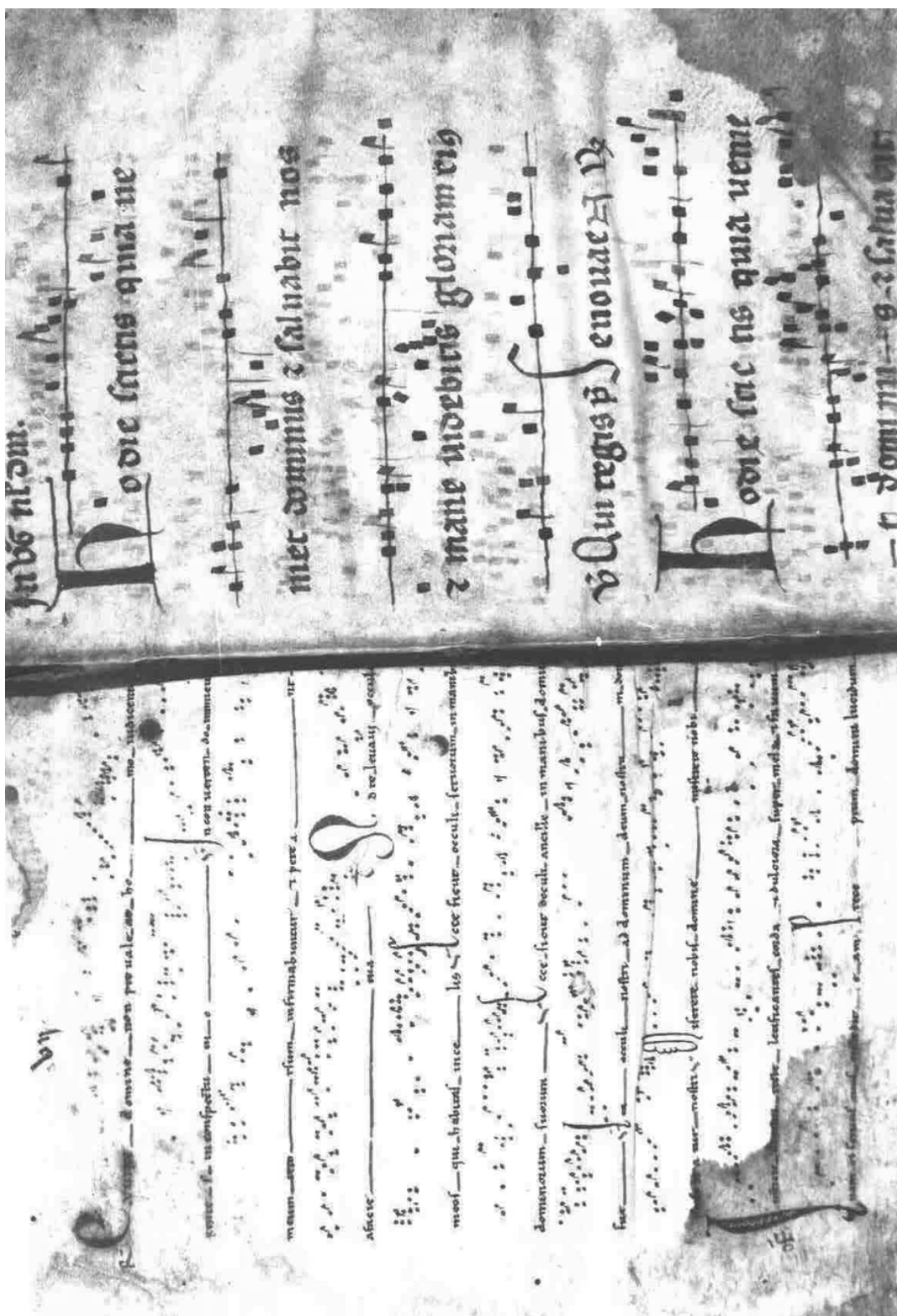


Fig. 5. P-Pm Ms. 830, Santa Cruz 67, guarda anterior, lado verso, e f. 1r.

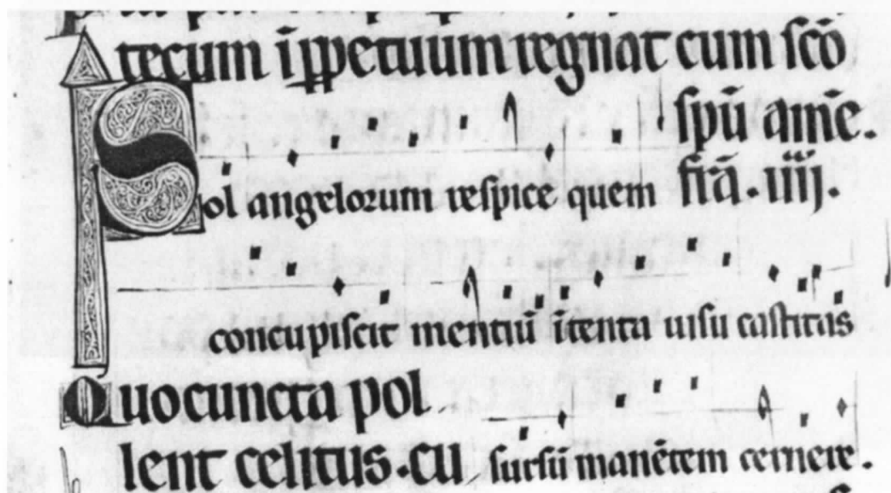
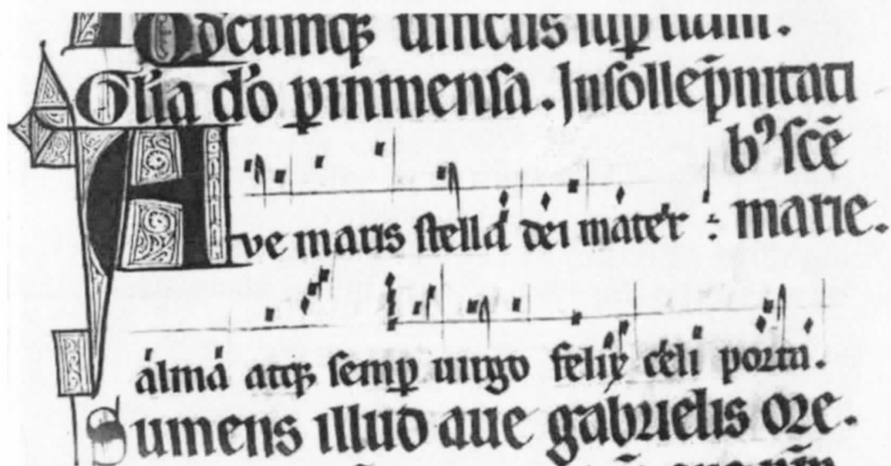
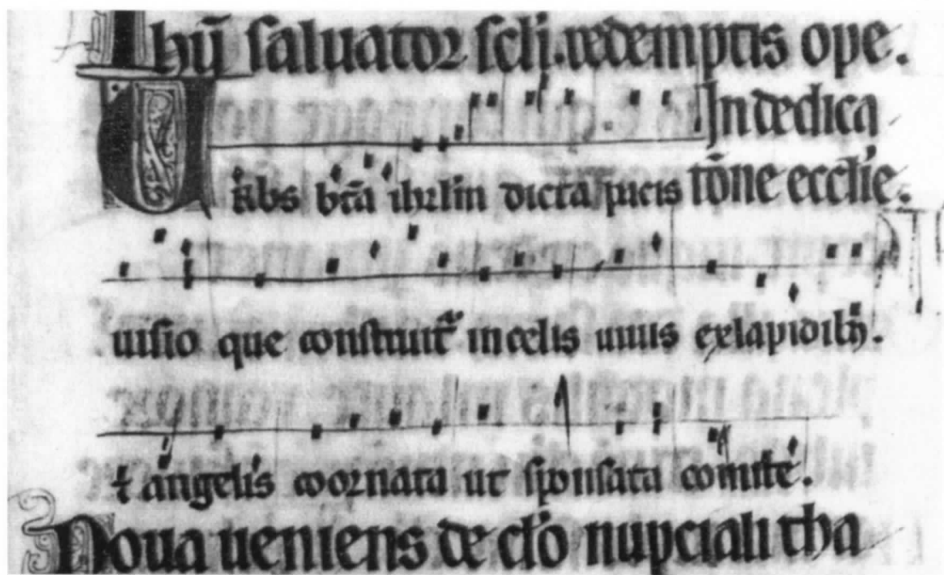


Fig. 6a-c. P-Pm Ms. 114, Santa Cruz 24, pormenores.



Fig. 7. P-Pm Ms. 1151, Santa Cruz sem n.º, f. 73r.



Fig. 8. P-BRd Col. Cronológica Cx. 256.2, lado recto.

Observations on the Monophonic Conductus of the Las Huelgas Codex

Nicolas Bell

It may come as something of a surprise in a study of medieval monody to find a discussion of the most famous Iberian source of early polyphony, the Las Huelgas Codex.¹ But in common with most of the other major sources of what is often, however injudiciously, referred to as Notre-Dame polyphony, this manuscript also transmits a substantial quantity of monophonic music: of the four generic categories into which the codex is divided, two — the organa and motets — are by their nature solely polyphonic, but twenty out of the thirty-one sequences are monophonic (the remaining eleven are in two parts) and out of thirty-two conductus, fifteen are monophonic. In addition, there are some ten monophonic Benedicamus tropes at the end of the book, all of them later additions to the codex.

Although Hu is, quite understandably, best known for its polyphony, the monophonic pieces have already received considerable attention in modern scholarship, largely because, like the polyphony, they are written in a form of mensural notation. This has been used by some scholars to support a regular rhythmic interpretation of monophonic sequences and conductus in other manuscripts which do not record rhythm in their notation: all of Gordon Anderson's collected edition of monophonic conductus, for example, is notated in regular rhythmic patterns, with very little evidence to support such an interpretation other than the monophonic conductus in Hu and a very few other comparatively late sources.² I would sooner argue from a contrary position, that it was precisely the presence of mensural polyphony in the same volume that compelled the scribe of Hu to attempt to assimilate these monophonic pieces into a system not originally designed for them.

Hu was written towards the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century for use in the Cistercian convent of Las Huelgas, near Burgos, where it remains to this day. As the mausoleum to the kings of Castile, Las Huelgas enjoyed a reputation unlike any other Cistercian convent, and while such accretions to the liturgy as sequences and polyphony were forbidden within the order, it is quite in keeping with the stature of Las Huelgas to have broken the Bernardine rules by singing this music.

¹ Burgos, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, código IX ('Hu' hereafter).

² Gordon A. ANDERSON, ed., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, Collected Works, 10, Henryville, 1981-. For his reasoning, see *id.*, "The Rhythm of the Monophonic Conductus in the Florence Manuscript as Indicated in Parallel Sources in Mensural Notation", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31, 1978, pp. 480-9.

The musical codex became known internationally in modern times through the monumental facsimile, transcription and commentary published by Higini Anglès in 1931, and has since then been afforded the luxury of two further complete editions, by Gordon Anderson in 1982 and by Juan-Carlos Asensio in 2001, as well as a very grand colour facsimile published by Testimonio of Madrid in 1997.³ All three editors have also published various other studies of the contents of the manuscript. What follows is therefore no more than a footnote to an extensive body of scholarship on a manuscript first mentioned in print a century ago.⁴

There are several respects in which one may see Hu as preserving the complete repertory of music required by the Convent, other than that found in the standard chant books for the Mass and Office. The first section of the book comprises organa mainly for the Ordinary of the Mass, using tropes suitable for various major feasts. The sequence collection includes sequences for all the saints particularly venerated at Las Huelgas, together with one each for the various categories of saint. The motets likewise cover major feasts fairly systematically, and as happens throughout the manuscript, there is a particular emphasis on the Blessed Virgin Mary, patron of every Cistercian monastery but particularly venerated at the Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas.

The conductus do not follow so clear a pattern in their subject-matter. A certain proportion are Marian again, but the remainder refer to particular feasts only obliquely if at all. Instead of a conductus celebrating the Nativity, for example, there are two which reflect in more general terms on the theme of God Made Man. Other conductus texts consider subjects less connected to feast-days, such as virtue, the Godhead, the Agnus Dei, or in the case of the well-known 'Crucifigat omnes', crusading. There is no indication in the codex itself as to the occasions on which the motets or conductus were sung, nor am I aware of any evidence concerning this in the convent's archives; but it does seem unlikely, for example, that the conductus were accorded a processional function, as happens in certain other manuscripts. Not all of the motets could have been sung in the context of divine worship: though they are all in Latin, several concern subjects such as the veniality of the clergy, and were presumably intended to be sung in a more private context. Though uniformly concerned with sacred subjects, the conductus may well have also been intended for use outside the church.⁵

³ Higini ANGLÈS, *El còdex musical de Las Huelgas (música a veus dels segles XIII-XIV): introducció, facsimil i transcripció*, Publicacions del Departament de Música de la Biblioteca de Catalunya, 6, 3 vols, Barcelona, 1931; Gordon A. ANDERSON, ed., *The Las Huelgas Manuscript: Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 79, 2 vols, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982; Juan Carlos ASENSIO PALACIOS, *El código de Las Huelgas*, Patrimonio musical español, 8, Madrid, 2001; *Código de canto polifónico*, colour facsimile edition, Madrid, 1997.

⁴ Luciano Serrano first described the manuscript as 'un Tropario del XIV, curioso por los motetes gregorianos y las piezas litúrgicas compuestas a varias voces', in *¿Que es canto gregoriano?: su naturaleza é historia*, Barcelona, 1905, p. 140.

⁵ On the situations in which the music of Hu may have been performed, see most recently Josemi LORENZO ARRIBAS, «¿Una atribución a una compositora castellana de principios del siglo XIV? Nuevas interpretaciones para una polémica en torno al código de Las Huelgas», *Revista de musicología*, 28, 2005, pp. 86-101.

Indeed, it seems that less of a distinction was drawn between conductus and motet in Hu than with the other genres of organum and sequence: five two-part conductus are found in the motet section of the manuscript, and it is very likely that the two genres would in some cases have had an interchangeable function. We do, though, know that a distinction was intended between the two genres, since, unusually, some of the pieces are referred to by the names ‘motet’ and ‘conductus’, in a series of comments added to the latter part of the codex.⁶ In one case, probably unique in the body of conductus to survive from the Middle Ages, a conductus is even made to speak for itself: the two-part conductus ‘O gloriosa Dei genitrix’ has next to it a speech-bubble proclaiming ‘a los que poco sabedes, en mi non cantedes, si non errar me hedes, que yo so condutz, et fuerte de cantat, et los que me non saben, ayna me erraran; mas primero me aprendet, que *ex improviso fallitur omnis homo*’.

The final twenty folios of the manuscript are presently bound in a state of disarray, in which order they were foliated in 1906. Anglès ordered his edition according to a misconceived idea of what the original order was, and the correct order shows that the final twenty folios were originally divided into two gatherings of ten folios each, the first to be devoted to polyphonic conductus and the second to monophonic. In the event, the principal scribe — who had already completed the sections devoted to organa, sequences and motets — filled only the first four folios of each gathering with conductus, and the remaining twelve folios were later filled with a variety of other pieces, by several different hands, over the next two decades or so. This means that we have a valid reason for restricting the discussion to monophonic conductus, since they formed a discrete section of the manuscript; this is in contrast with the sequences, where one- and two-part pieces are intermingled. The remainder of this discussion will therefore concern only four folios which used to succeed one another in the codex but are now numbered 167, 157, 158 and 161.

In all, there are eleven monophonic conductus, followed by four planctus, only the first of which was written by the principal scribe; the remaining three are later additions. The planctus is often referred to as a sub-species of the conductus, but these four songs of mourning, all unique to Hu, are entirely different in style from the remaining eleven conductus, and I will not give further consideration to them here, since they have already been discussed extensively elsewhere, as well as recorded a number of times.⁷ This leaves only eleven pieces, which are listed in the table below.

⁶ On these additions, see Juan Carlos ASENSIO PALACIOS, «Compositor, enmendador, acordador...: el papel de Johannes Roderici en el código de Las Huelgas», in *Campos interdisciplinarios de la musicología: V Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Musicología, Barcelona, 25-28 de octubre de 2000*, vol. 1, Madrid, 2001, pp. 597-619.

⁷ See, in particular, José FILGUEIRA VALVERDE, «El ‘planto’ en la historia y en la literatura Gallega», *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos*, 2, 1944, pp. 511-606, and Wulf ARLT, «Musik, Schrift und Interpretation: zwei Studien zum Umgang mit Aufzeichnungen ein- und mehrstimmiger Musik aus dem 14. und 15. Jahrhundert I — *Rex obiit*: ein “Planctus” in der Aufzeichnung des Kodex ‘Las Huelgas’», *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 4, 1980, pp. 95-114.

no. ⁸	folio(s)	Incipit	Notes
158	167r	Si vocatus ad nupcias	In F and Sab; part of 'Ad cor tuum'
159	167r	[O]mnium in te Christe	Unicum (text and music)
160	167r–v	In hoc ortus occidente	In F and Cambridge
161	167v, 157r	Audi pontus, audi tellus	Unicum (text known elsewhere)
162	157r–v	Bonum est confidere	In F and Cambridge
163	157v–158r	Ve mundo a scandalis	In F and several other sources
164	158r	Veni redemptor gentium	In Tortosa 135
165	158r–v	Fontis in rivulum	In F
166	158v, 161r	Homo natus ad laborem	In F
167	161r	Iesu clementissime	Unicum (text and music)
168	161v	Ergo vide ne dormias	In F and Sab; part of 'Ad cor tuum'

The first point to note is that seven of these pieces are also found in the tenth fascicle of F, the famous manuscript of Parisian polyphony now MS Pluteus 29.1 in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana in Florence ('F'). This proportion, much higher than that found for the other genres in the codex, is comparable with the polyphonic conductus, where eleven out of the sixteen pieces are also known from the Notre-Dame sources. Of the four monophonic conductus not found in F, three are unique to Hu (though the words of one of these are known elsewhere) and one, 'Veni redemptor gentium', is also found in Tortosa Cathedral MS 135. The Tortosa concordance takes the form of a Hosanna prosula; in Hu, the 'Osanna' is removed from the start, the 'In excelsis' from the end, and it has thereby been transformed into a conductus. (Tortosa 135 is also closely related to Hu in its sequence repertory.) Some of the conductus found in F and Hu also appear in other sources — two in MS XIV L3 at Santa Sabina in Rome ('Sab' in the table), and two in an English manuscript, Cambridge University Library Ff.1.17(1). So while we can say with confidence that the conductus of Hu largely represent a Parisian tradition, it is also one that was widely transmitted elsewhere — though we now have very little other evidence for conductus being sung in the Iberian Peninsula.

In copying — at whatever remove — from this Parisian repertory, the scribe of Hu was highly selective in choosing this small number of pieces, and it is not possible to discern a particular logic in the selection. A second very significant difference from the other major sources is that each conductus in Hu consists of only a single strophe.⁹ Normally it is the first strophe that is written down, but in the case of the conductus 'Ad cor tuum revertere', the third and fourth strophes are written out as separate pieces, the first and last on the list in the table above. This means that the central portion of a long conductus in F is formed into two short compositions

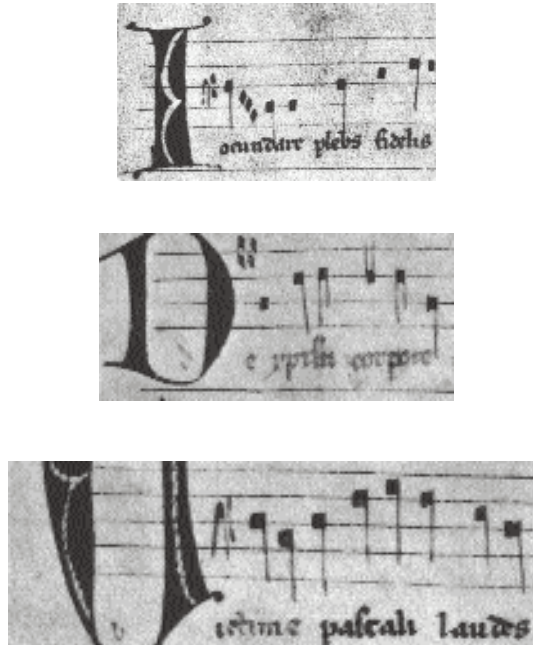
⁸ The numbering is taken from Anglès' edition; Asensio's edition follows the same numbering, with the exception of no. 168, which he considers to be part of no. 158.

⁹ On the relation between F and Hu in this respect, see Ruth STEINER, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs Composed around 1200", *Musical Quarterly*, 52, 1966, pp. 56-70, esp. p. 64.

separated by four folios of other compositions. In their editions, Anderson and Asensio both bring the two disparate parts together, so that instead of eleven separate pieces we have ten, one of them twice the length of the others, but it seems preferable to follow Anglès in seeing them as separate compositions, representative of a quite different conductus practice from that of Notre-Dame. In Hu, the conductus is conceived of as a short piece, of six or eight lines of text, often in the form of an invocation, or maybe structured like a collect, and accordingly it has a quite different function and conception from its Notre-Dame ancestors. All of the short texts in Hu make good sense in their own right: they do not depend for their meaning on the later strophes (as would most sequences, for example, or many of the motets). The only exception is the fourth conductus, 'Audi pontus, audi tellus', which is an abecedary text in its full version, but which here only has the strophe beginning with 'a', omitting the rest of the alphabet; but it seems likely that such sophistication was beyond the skills of the scribe of Hu. This is borne out by a motet earlier in the manuscript the text of which should be an acrostic reference to the tenor 'Benedicamus Domino', but in which the scribe altered the words to remove the acrostic element: what must have begun as 'BELIAL NECATUR DIFFUSA CALIDITAS MUSE...' is written as 'Belial vocatur ...'.

The third major difference between the presentation of F and Hu is in the notation. While the melodic versions are generally close, with only minor variants (some of which will be discussed later), the notation in Hu uses broadly the same range of note-forms as had been used earlier in the codex for the rhythmic notation of the organa, sequences and motets. Their rhythmic implication in these conductus is rather more complicated, which led Anglès in his transcription to render them in even crotchets, a solution which clearly does not do justice to the rhythmic implication inherent in the notation. Nor, though, is it possible to render the notation satisfactorily according to the precepts of the rhythmic modes, with a regular underlying pattern (such as short-long-short-long-short-long).

The problem facing the scribe may be seen most clearly in the sequences: the system of rhythmic modes arose in the context of the performance of organum, and was easily applied to motets since that genre arose from organal composition. Sequences, though, follow different types of metrical structures from motets, to which the modal system could be applied only haphazardly. A trochaic metre is rendered by the scribe of Hu with an equivalent of the first rhythmic mode (long-breve-long), and an iambic metre with an opposite pattern (breve-long-breve), as may be seen for example in the sequences 'Iocundare plebs fidelis' and 'De christi corpore' respectively (see Example 1). But one third of the sequences in Hu — all those that predate the Victorine school — lack such regularity, and rather than attempt to render the textual accentuation rhythmically, the scribe allots the time of one perfect long to each syllable: an example is 'Victimae paschali laudes'. This is a method that will be referred to here as 'isosyllabic'.



Example 1.

It seems to me that all of the monophonic conductus in Hu, none of which displays as regular a metrical pattern as the Victorine and later sequences, follow the same isosyllabic scheme as these older sequences. What this means in practice is that notes to the value of a perfect long are assigned to each syllable. There are exceptions, of course, most notably in the melismas that are often found at the beginning or end of the conductus. An example is ‘Homo natus ad laborem’, the song bewailing man’s wretchedness that opens the tenth fascicle of F. There is a long melisma at the start, then in the second line begins the use of a perfect long for each syllable (see Example 2). The notation is not strictly Franconian, but is more pragmatic than systematic: a descending tail to the right of a note signifies relative length rather than necessarily a perfect or imperfect long, and an ascending tail to the left signifies brevity — usually semiquavers.¹⁰ While in F the single notes with very short descending tails to the right may be best understood as *virgae*, the tail not having rhythmic significance but merely a remnant of the method of notating plainchant, it is clear that the scribe of Hu used the tail to make a distinction between *longa* and *brevis*.

¹⁰ The scribe’s method of displaying rhythm is more fully explained in Nicolas BELL, *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile*, Madrid, 2003, Spanish translation, 2004.



Example 2.

'Bonum est confidere' opens with four perfect longs, then a seven-note ligature on '-fi-', then two more longs. Here I would not argue for absolute regularity in the same amount of time being allotted to each syllable, since this would result in a slow, stilted performance, with a sudden flurry of activity in the fifth syllable (see Example 3.1). Rather, I believe it should be performed with the *notion* of the perfection underpinning the conductus: the longs could be taken slightly faster, with slightly more lingering on the semiquavers. This is difficult to render in modern notation, as the original notation admits more flexibility than the modern system will allow. One method of showing this flexibility, employed in parts of the *Magnus liber organi* edition, is to use arrows to show relative accelerandi and dotted lines to show ritenuti (as in Example 3.2).¹¹

3.1 Bo - num est con - fi - - de - re

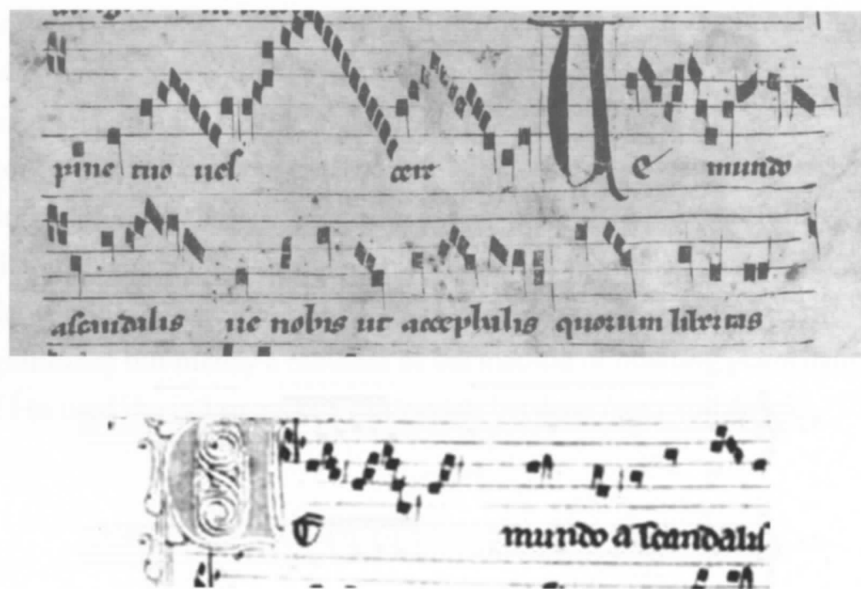
3.2 Bo - num est con - fi - - de - re

3.3 Bo - num est con - fi - - de - de

Example 3.

¹¹ Edward H. ROESNER, ed., *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, vol. 1: Les quadrupla et tripla, Monaco, 1993.

It does seem clear to me, though, that the assumption in the two recent editions of Hu that if all the notes will not fit comfortably into one perfection then they must be expanded to fit into two perfections — a method more in keeping with a strict interpretation of Franco of Cologne's system — seems to go against the way in which the scribe intended to use the note-forms available to him (see Example 3.3). The notation is not as rigid as this method assumes, and transcription in this manner has the result of imposing a proportional relation between syllables — 'fi-' exactly twice the length of the remainder — which is not inherent in the notation. These seven notes on 'fi-', incidentally, replace only three notes in F, and are characteristic of a style also found in the endings of several sequences in Hu. Of the remaining conductus with concordances in F, 'Fontis in rivulum' is difficult to read as the parchment is damaged, while 'Ve mundo a scandalis' is comparable to 'Bonum est confidere', with a brief melisma at the start, then one perfection to each syllable, with a more florid rendering of the word 'scandalis' than is found in F (see Example 4: Hu, f. 157v; F, f. 426r). The two conductus taken from 'Ad cor tuum revertere', 'Si vocatus ad nupcias' and 'Ergo vide ne dormias', differ from F mainly in having an extended final melisma, while 'In hoc ortus occidente' is close to the Parisian version. Of the unica, 'Omnium in te Christe credencium' and 'Audi pontus, audi tellus' use melodies that are stylistically quite similar to the Notre-Dame pieces, while 'Ihesu clementissime' is in a rather simpler, naïve style. 'Veni redemptor gencium' is very close to its concordance in Tortosa 135, though the notation of that source does not prescribe precise rhythm.



Example 4.

In summary, the collection of monophonic conductus preserved in Hu is mainly derived from the much larger collection in the tenth fascicle of F, but with only single strophes and in a slightly more florid, melismatic style than is found in F, in keeping with the style of melismas found elsewhere in the codex. The notation uses the same signs as in the remainder of the manuscript, and while the note-forms do not make rhythmic sense according to a preconceived system or when taken on their own, they can better be understood when interpreted in the context of the other, polyphonic pieces, where the rhythm is more inherently apparent.

A mensuralidade na monodia litúrgica portuguesa do século XVI

José Maria Pedrosa Cardoso

I. MENSURALIDADE E CANTOCHÃO

A interpretação rítmica do Gregoriano, a sua própria escrita eventualmente comprometida com a escrita mensural do contraponto, supõe, antes, a experiência de uma execução rítmica definida no próprio reportório do cantochão. São invocados a este propósito os hinos ambrosianos — vindos directamente do Médio Oriente — com uma dimensão métrica e acentual bem declarada. Mas cita-se aqui também a prática dos Ofícios rimados e das Sequências na sua forma evoluída, isto é, nas suas versões estrófica e também rimada.

O interesse dos humanistas dos séculos XV e XVI em tratar a relação música-poesia à luz da cultura greco-latina, deu novo impulso e mais autoridade a todos os que interpretavam o reportório gregoriano. Nas formas estróficas certamente, mas também em simples melodias monológicas.

Existem teorias da época a comprovarem a aplicação das notas «cum mensura» mas existe sobretudo uma escrita de reportórios convencionais com esse tipo de notação, a que, à falta de melhor, podemos chamar *lato sensu* notação mensurada. Trata-se de uma notação quadrada em negro, com longas, breves, semibreves, ou uma notação quadrada branca com valores ainda mais diferenciados, chegando mesmo a colcheias e semicolcheias. É o que se pode verificar em exemplos abundantes de impressos e manuscritos em Portugal, a partir do século XVI, documentos aqui invocados, não pelo seu conteúdo, mas pela justificação teórica de que se fazem acompanhar.

II. GÉNERO MONOLÓGICO

Considerem-se, antes de mais, as melodias monológicas, isto é, as executadas solisticamente pelo preste e pelos ministros da liturgia, concretamente nas orações e nas leituras.

Canto da Paixão

Conhecendo-se já a singularidade da monodia litúrgica da Paixão em Portugal, que sobressai claramente no panorama dos modelos ocidentais graças à definição das suas notas recitantes, num

modelo que está vigente em todo o país pelo menos até à inauguração do Convento de Mafra, importa saber que a mesma se apresentou historicamente em notação mensurada. Efectivamente, os primeiros passionários impressos do século XVI — de Diogo Fernandes Formoso (1543), Manuel Cardoso (1575) e Estêvão de Cristo (1595) — bem como os manuscritos de Santa Cruz de Coimbra — os MM 69 e 200 — e ainda o passionário manuscrito da Sé de Coimbra, o MM 223, registam uma notação diversamente diferenciada e explicada nos prefácios respectivos dos passionários impressos.

Antes mais, Fernandes Formoso:

«A cantoria deste libro tiene tres diferencias de puntos: los quales se pusieron para guardar el acento de la letra: Y esto para los que no son latinos: y para quitar el cuidado a los que lo son: y son estas para las sillabas longas ■, para las breves ♦, para los fines y mas longas.» (fig. 1)

Fernandes Formoso fala de dois conceitos: o acento e a quantidade das sílabas. Por um lado diz que a escolha das figuras se faz «para guardar o acento» mas, por outro lado, considera que são as sílabas longas ou breves que devem determinar a aplicação das figuras respectivas (no caso, as breves ou semibreves, em redução para metade do valor real). Na realidade, longe de colocar breves ou semibreves sistematicamente nas sílabas longas ou breves, ele utiliza por norma a breve em todas as sílabas tónicas e a semibreve em todas as outras. É o que se pode ver na seguinte frase, em que foram sublinhadas as sílabas dotadas de notas breves: Tunc congregati sunt principes sacerdotum [] et seniores populi | in atrium principis sacerdotum [] qui dicebatur Caiphas (fig. 2). Neste sentido, Fernandes Formoso está muito próximo das versões espanholas: a de Zaragoza (1510), a de Alcalá de Henares (1516)¹ e ainda a de Salamanca.² Como se explica esta opção do cantochanista da Capela Real? Antes de mais trata-se de enfatizar o acento tónico em prejuízo da quantidade das sílabas, inserindo-se assim no movimento humanista de superação do metro clássico pela importância do acento. Podia falar-se também da intenção de clarificar as palavras do discurso evangélico, no sentido das orientações tridentinas. Curiosamente o editor do Passionário salmantino antes citado invoca o Concílio de Trento para justificar a sua versão, mas confessa seguir rigorosamente o canto toledano.³

Por sua vez, Manuel Cardoso (fig. 3) escreve, em nota introdutória:

«Notularum figurae, quae in hoc continentur volumine tres sunt, videlicet Brevium, Semibrevium, et ex Semibrevibus et Brevi composita ligatura. Brevium simplex figura sic delineatur ■. Semibrevium simplex figura sic describitur ♦. Brevium autem figura composita sic vario formatur modo [...]»⁴

¹ GONZÁLEZ-VALLE 1974, respectivamente, pp. 19 e 29.

² Cf. LÓPEZ-CALO 1998, p. 213.

³ *Id.* p. 214.

⁴ CARDOSO 1575, f. [2].

Manuel Cardoso não explica onde coloca as breves e as semibreves, dedicando mais atenção às ligaduras das mesmas, o que muito interessa para os passos mais complicados sobretudo nas cadências. No entanto, há um progresso notável na distribuição dos valores de duração: deixando a colocação sistemática de breves nas sílabas tónicas, opta por uma distribuição de acentos de acordo com um ritmo declamativo, o que corresponde ao chamado ritmo oratório, como se pode ver no mesmo passo: **Tunc congregati sunt principes sacerdo-tum | et seniores populi | in atrium principis sacerdo-tum | qui dicebatur Caiphas** (fig. 4). É provável que esteja aqui, também, o esforço de adaptação ao espírito tridentino que Manuel Cardoso se encarregou de transmitir na sua versão da Paixão.

Leia-se agora a introdução de Fr. Estêvão de Cristo (fig. 5):

«Nos ditos de Christo vão pontos novos, s. figuras de longas para os acentos agudos, ou dous breves juntos, como se ve nestas figuras ou ■■ para se advertir que nos tais tempos se ha de fazer maior reflexão com a voz, e produzir o Accento com mayor vagar. Os outros pontos se vão correndo com accents agudos e graves, com mais ou menos detença conforme ao que eles por si representam. Esta advertencia se poem para os que sabem pouco latim, e para os que sabem muito hirem cantando com menos cuidado.»⁵

Fr. Estêvão especifica valores de duração apenas para os ditos de Cristo, praticamente dobrando a duração das sílabas «que como são palavras que de ordinário se cantam devagar necessariamente se hão-de apontar com caracteres mais vagarosos que os de outro texto». Aqui encontramos a diferenciação de discurso, mas a ideia rítmica permanece. De facto nas palavras de Cristo todas as sílabas levam breves, excepto as tónicas que levam longas. Quanto ao restante discurso, o freire da Ordem de Cristo adopta a aplicação de breves e semibreves como habitualmente, mas ainda na visão de um ritmo oratório.⁶

Sabendo que, do ponto de vista melódico, Estêvão de Cristo se aproxima de Fernandes Formoso corrigindo Manuel Cardoso, do ponto de vista rítmico ele cola-se quase perfeitamente ao seu antecessor, o que se pode explicar globalmente na procura da inteligibilidade textual pretendida pelo Concílio de Trento (fig. 6):

⁵ CRISTO 1595, f. [2v].

⁶ Para a compreensão do ritmo oratório aplicado ao canto gregoriano, cf. POTHIER 1980, pp. 216 e 228.

FF	<u>Tunc congregati sunt principes sacerdotum</u> [] et seniores <u>populi</u>
MC	<u>Tunc congregati sunt</u> principes sacerdo- <u>tum</u> et seniores <u>populi</u>
EC	<u>Tunc congregati sunt</u> principes sacerdotum et seniores <u>populi</u>
FF	in atrium <u>principis sacerdotum</u> [] qui dicebatur <u>Caiphas</u>
MC	in atrium principis sacerdo- <u>tum</u> <u>qui</u> dicebatur <u>Caiphas</u>
EC	in atrium principis sacerdotum qui dicebatur <u>Caiphas</u>

Uma análise completa da dimensão rítmica desta monodia deveria ter em conta os neumas das cadências e outras fórmulas características do fraseado de cada cantor da Paixão, sobretudo o que representa o papel de Cristo. Um assunto a necessitar da atenção que esta breve comunicação não permite dar.

Os exemplos citados de livros impressos no século XVI apresentam a mensuralidade na monodia da Paixão escrita em notação quadrada negra. Existem, contudo, outras fontes da mesma monodia em que a notação utilizada é a quadrada branca.

Estão neste caso os passionários do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra: os monofónicos, MM 69 e MM 200, e os mistos de cantochão e polifonia: o MM 56 de Coimbra e o seu gémeo da Sociedade Martins Sarmento, de Guimarães, todos datados de c. 1580. Independentemente da polifonia inserta nos Versos a 3 da Paixão nestes últimos, todos eles apresentam uma monodia da Paixão com valores rítmicos muito variados, o que foi atempadamente reconhecido por Kurt von Fischer quando afirmou que os valores figurativos foram ritmizados em ordem a uma dicção mais compreensiva.⁷ À primeira vista, e graças à variedade de figuras e desenhos melódicos ornamentais, dir-se-ia estarmos ante uma escrita polifónica, quando não barroquizante. Mas não há engano: trata-se sempre de puro cantochão filtrado embora pelo gosto da escola musical de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (fig. 7, 8 e 9).

Outras monologias de cantochão

Mas não é apenas a monodia da Paixão que foi intencionalmente escrita e executada em valores mensurais no século XVI. Explicando edições e manuscritos litúrgicos, o *Missale Romanum* impresso em Coimbra em 1575, imediatamente antes da secção dos prefácios, insere uma rubrica na qual se explica o sistema mensural do cantochanista Manuel Cardoso, referente sobretudo às ligaduras, no qual se canoniza a interpretação rítmica da monodia litúrgica da Missa (fig. 10).

O MM 37 exemplifica modelos de orações, prefácios, profecias e apresenta mesmo modelo completo de uma leitura de Matinas, um *Modus cantandi lectiones ad Matutinum* (f. 19ss),

⁷ «... im Sinne einer gut verständlichen Diktion rhythmisiert» (cit. in CARDOSO 1998, p. 630).

com notação mensural branca — breves apenas em alguns acentos principais, ligaduras nas cadências finais, com exemplos notados completos de leituras com essa notação (fig. 11).

Na mesma ordem de ideias, e em manuscrito de Évora (Cod. 116,c) que terá vindo eventualmente de Coimbra (ou não?), aparece a notação completa do «evangelium claustrii» (Procissão de Ramos), bem como o pregão pascal «Exultet» em notação quadrada branca muito próxima dos exemplos já mostrados de Santa Cruz de Coimbra.

III. GÉNERO SALMÓDICO

As fórmulas salmódicas consagradas já em manuais impressos já em manuscritos da época acusam a mesma dimensão rítmica. Neste caso, mais que a importância de cada palavra e de cada sílaba tónica ou quantitativa, aparece mais claramente a noção de um ritmo livre oratório com a saliência adequada de sílabas consideradas mais importantes na frase global. É o que se pode ver em Pietro Cerone e em Pedro Talésio (fig. 12), ambos estrangeiros mas bem ilustrados com a prática musical de Espanha e Portugal.

Mas não são apenas os impressos da especialidade: também os manuscritos de Santa Cruz de Coimbra transmitiram à posteridade a noção de uma salmodia marcada pelo ritmo oratório, como se pode ver em vários códices de salmos, nomeadamente no MM 18 (fig. 13).

IV. GÉNERO ESTRÓFICO

São vários os exemplos do género estrófico.

a) Em notação quadrada negra

Antes de mais, o hinário inserto no Passionário de Fernandes Formoso (fig. 14). Aqui aparecem figuras breves e semibreves em correspondência ao acento ou à quantidade das sílabas. Assim o 1º hino *Conditor alme siderum* é típico do metro jâmbico construído regularmente na sequência binária de três tempos de semibreve-breve. A regularidade da correspondência do acento tónico à quantidade das sílabas, excepto no *pes* inicial, facilitou a adopção do tempo ternário regular (como aparece indicado pelo autor). Pode supor-se que este hino, pelo facto de ter adoptado a rima, seja tardio explicando-se, assim, a correspondência, a sobrevalorização do acento sobre a quantidade.

Outro caso é a aplicação premeditada do ritmo oratório, em que, apesar de uma adopção do tempo, se aplica aparentemente o acento oratório, como se pode verificar no hino *Verbum supernum* (2) e ainda em *Aures ad nostras deitatis* para os domingos da Quaresma.

Note-se agora como o MM 1, um livro da Sé de Coimbra, datado de 1640, reproduz o impresso de Fernandes Formoso de 1543 (fig. 15). Antes de mais o hino *Conditor alme siderum*, com a versão medieval ainda recolhida por Fernandes Formoso, segundo o Breviário de Soeiro⁸ e mantida até ao Vaticano II no Breviário Monástico,⁹ é modificado em P-Cug MM 1, com a substituição da palavra *conditor* pela outra mais adaptada ao acento *Creator*: a quantidade do metro jâmbico (BL), incompatível com o acento de *Conditor* (LB) ficando assegurada com o acento de *Creator* (BL), como convém àquele metro.

b) Em notação quadrada branca

Que aconteceu, entretanto, com o P-Cug MM 37? Este livro apresenta por igual, e sem um critério rigoroso, uma notação quadrada negra e branca, igual e mensurável (fig. 11). A razão desta duplicidade técnica está ainda por explicar: parecendo dever-se a uma opção meramente técnica utilizada já neste ou naquele reportório, ou até dentro de uma linha confessadamente conservadora ou inovadora (como Cerone admite...), aparecem alguns exemplos em que o *incipit* apresenta a notação quadrada branca e o resto da peça em quadrada negra tradicional, o que pode indiciar a especial capacidade ou preparação dos cantores-mor do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Na realidade é com esta notação branca gregoriana que os MM de Santa Cruz apresentam uma escrita mais rica e por vezes sofisticada, o que poderia explicar a fama de grandes executantes de cantochão dentro daquele Mosteiro crúzio. No MM 37 os hinos aparecem quase sistematicamente em notação mensural com indicação de compasso (fig. 16).

Não se sabe ao certo quando o Mosteiro de Santa Cruz introduziu a notação quadrada dentro da sua prática musical. Há no entanto notícias de alto apreço pela música desde finais do século XV e a verdade é que alguns dos códices medievais do mesmo Mosteiro, hoje à guarda da Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, apresentam já este tipo de notação mensural branca. Há alguns casos até de palimpsestos, mas existe o Saltério-Hinário P-Pm S† 26 que apresenta alguns hinos com esta notação, caso de: *Exultet coelum laudibus* (f. 172v), *Martir Dei qui unicum* e *Eterna Christi munera* (f. 173) e também notação branca para o hino *Magne Pater Augustine* (f. 174v).

V. JUSTIFICAÇÃO TEÓRICA

Apresentaram-se alguns exemplos de uma prática musical do cantochão no sentido da mensuralidade, verificando a sua fundamentação por parte de alguns cantochanistas, que assim apareceram documentados sobre as teorias do seu tempo.

⁸ ROCHA 1980, p. 97.

⁹ *Breviarium* 1953, p. 258.

Não se trata, por certo, de uma originalidade portuguesa. As ideias circulavam em Portugal dentro do incremento cultural humanista promovido já por D. João II e por D. Manuel, mas especialmente fomentado por D. João III. Já se viu como o primeiro cantochanista antes apresentado se confessa devedor de outros saberes podendo a sua concepção rítmica da monodia da Paixão estar apoiada pelas edições espanholas do tempo de Cisneros.

O único tratado de cantochão impresso em Portugal no século XVI, o de Mateus de Aranda (Lisboa, 1533), não traz nada a este respeito, o mesmo acontecendo à *Introduzione faccilissima* de Vicente Lusitano (Roma, 1553). É curioso verificar que Aranda não aparece no Catálogo da Biblioteca do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz, ao contrário do livro de Vicente Lusitano e de outros tratados antigos de cantochão, tais como os de Fr. Juan de Bermudo, Pedro Cerone, Ludovicus Folianus, Miguel de Fuenllana, Franchinus Gaffurius, Fr. Thomas de Santa Maria, Francisco Montanos e outros.¹⁰ Em compensação, sabe-se que circulavam neste país livros de teoria, havendo mesmo traduções e adaptações, tais como a *Arte de canto chão* de Juan Martínez adaptada (c. 1550) por Afonso Perea de Bernal, enquanto catedrático de música da Universidade de Coimbra.

De qualquer modo é certo que os Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho utilizaram largamente a notação mensurável. Pode mesmo colocar-se a hipótese de que este estilo de notação fosse causa ou consequência da reivindicação dos privilégios de cantar diferente por parte dos Capítulos de Santa Cruz e do mandato expresso a D. Vicente, o autor de «todos os cantos chãos que na nossa Congregação se uzam»,¹¹ de copiar o reportório de cantochão próprio do Mosteiro, como se expôs na tese do signatário.

Deste modo, e perante vários manuscritos com este mesmo tipo de notação singular, isto é, com uma notação mensural branca aplicada a melodias de cantochão, quase todas relacionadas com a Escola de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, onde é certo que muitos e bons artistas cultivaram a arte da cópia musical,¹² coloca-se o problema de aquela ser ou não uma originalidade dos Cónegos Crúzios.

Não é crível que, na mesma época em que a Igreja Portuguesa conhecia, no prazo de pouco mais de 50 anos, três Passionários impressos, e na mesma época em que foi copiado o Passionário monofónico da Sé de Coimbra, o Cug MM 223, os Cónegos de Santa Cruz se dedicassem a copiar repetidamente a música da Paixão, se não houvesse também o interesse de assegurar, através da escrita, o estilo de uma execução própria, que consistiria precisamente na diferenciação rítmica de um *accentus* suficientemente divulgado em Portugal. A este propósito cabe ainda admitir que, à falta de outros elementos comprovativos de uma criação original, tenha sido este tipo de escrita o que qualificou insistentemente D. Vicente (†1580) como compositor de

¹⁰ CARVALHO 1921, pp. 59 e ss.

¹¹ Cf. CARDOSO 1998, p. 167.

¹² Cf. PINHO 1981, pp. 117-120.

«todos os cantos chãos que na nossa Congregação se uzam».¹³ Na realidade, o modelo melódico dos Passionários manuscritos de Santa Cruz é substancialmente o mesmo do adoptado por Diogo Fernandes Formoso (1543), o mais antigo a ser impresso em Portugal, que, talvez por se creditar em longa tradição oral, seria seguido pelos impressos e manuscritos subsequentes, até meados do século XVIII.

Uma opinião não desligada do contexto teórico, com especial referência a Bermudo, Salinas e outros. Especialmente invocados, a respeito da visão rítmica do cantochão são Giovanni Guidetti (1530-1592) e Pedro Cerone (1566-1625).

O célebre cantochanista papal, querendo explicar-se no seu *Directorium Chori* (1582), declara:

*«Ut autem omnium supradictorum cantus rite observentur, cognoscenda est differentia, quam habent notae musicae, quae diversimode designatae per totum Directorium reperiuntur. Notae autem sunt huiusmodi ... Haec nota ■ vocatur Brevis, cui subjecta syllaba, ita profertur, ut canendo tempus unum insumatur. Haec ♦ dicitur Semibrevis, & syllaba quae sub illam cadit, celerius est percurrenda, ut dimidium unius temporis impendatur. Haec altera ■ quae Longa est, paulo tardius proferenda est, adeo ut in cantu tempus unum, & dimidium insumatur.»*¹⁴

Cerone, por sua vez, depois de uma longa experiência musical em Espanha, em *El Melopeo y el Maestro*, apresenta o seu sistema de notação para o canto gregoriano, que consta das seguintes figuras:

- a losangular ♦, para as sílabas breves: corresponde a meio compasso (= 1 tempo);
- a quadrada ■ (= 2 semibreves), para as sílabas ordinárias: corresponde a um compasso (= 2 tempos);
- a quadrada com plica ■ (= 3 semibreves), para as sílabas anteriores de breves: corresponde a compasso e meio (= 3 tempos);
- duas quadradas ■ ■, ou uma quadrada e uma quadrada com plica: corresponde a 2 compassos.

¹³ Cf. *Ibid.* p. 167.

¹⁴ «Para uma observação correcta de todos os cantos acima indicados, é preciso conhecer a diferença das notas musicais diversamente designadas através do Directorium. Ora as notas são ... Esta nota ■ chama-se Breve e a sílaba que lhe é sujeita deve pronunciar-se de modo que o seu canto dure um tempo. Esta ♦ é a Semibreve e a sílaba que lhe corresponde pronuncia-se mais depressa, de modo a durar apenas meio tempo. Mas esta ■ que se chama Longa, deve pronunciar-se com um pouco mais de retardamento, de modo a que o seu canto dure um tempo e meio» (GUIDETTI 1615, f. [3]). Este autor diz basear-se nos mais antigos e mais doutos mestres da Música e nos livros antigos e recentes, sendo também o sistema utilizado no Ofício da Semana Santa por ele publicado. Complementarmente, o P-Ln Cod. 5693, em cópia autenticada do manuscrito papal de 1565, apresenta a Paixão de Mt numa pauta de 5 linhas, mas apenas com figuras breves e longas, estas em todas as sílabas tónicas das palavras.

A estas figuras correspondem outros tantos sinais de pausas.¹⁵ É importante a explicação que Cerone apresenta para justificar as diferentes figuras: «... y esto se haze para que podamos mostrar mas distintamente el modo se ha de tener, para cantar con buena gracia las Oraciones y Prophecias, con lo de mas».¹⁶

Todavia, estes teóricos são posteriores à prática de cantochão em Portugal e ainda ao grande incremento musical do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Talvez se deva então recordar outro teórico mais antigo, e não menos importante, Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1435-1511):

«Notae vero incerti valoris sunt illae quae nullo regulari valore sunt limitatae. Cuiusmodi sunt quibus in plano cantu utitur, quarum quidem forma interdum est similis formae longae, brevis et semibrevis et interdum dissimilis [...] Et huiusmodi notae nunc cum mensura, nunc sine mensura, nunc sub una quantitate perfecta, nunc sub alia imperfecta canuntur secundum ritum ecclesiarum aut voluntatem canentium...»¹⁷

Talvez aqui esteja, afinal, a justificação da singularidade na prática de cantochão em Portugal e em Santa Cruz de Coimbra.

¹⁵ CERONE 1613, p. 378.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

¹⁷ TINCTORIS 2005.

FONTES

P-Cug MM 1 — Hinário... da Sé de Coimbra

P-Cug MM 37 — Tonário, Hinário...

P-Cug MM 69 — Passionário monofónico de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (c. 1580)

P-Cug MM 200 — Passionário monofónico de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (c. 1580)

P-Cug MM 223 — Passionário monofónico da Sé de Coimbra (séc. XVII in.)

P-Cug MM 56 — Passionário polifónico de Santa Cruz de Coimbra (c. 1580)

P-EVp cod. 116 — Hinário...

Breviarium 1953 — *Breviarium monasticum, Pars hiemalis*, Mechliniae: H. Dessain

CARDOSO 1575 — Manuel CARDOSO, *Passionarium iuxta Capellae Regis Lusitaniae consuetudinem: accentus rationem integre observans...*, Leiria: Antonio de Mariz, 1575.

CERONE 1613 — Pietro CERONE, *El melopeo y maestro...*, Nápoles: Juan Bautista Gargano e Lucrecio Nucci, 1613.

CRISTO 1593 — Fr. Estêvão de CRISTO, *Liber Passionum...*, Lisboa: Simão Lopes, 1593.

FORMOSO 1543 — Diogo Fernandes FORMOSO, *Passionarium secundum ritum capellae regis Lusitaniae...*, Lisboa: Luis Rodrigues, 1543.

GUIDETTI 1621 — *Directorium chori...*, Romae: Apud Andream Pheum, 1621.

Missale 1588 — *Missale Romanum...*, Coimbra: Antonio de Mariz, 1588.

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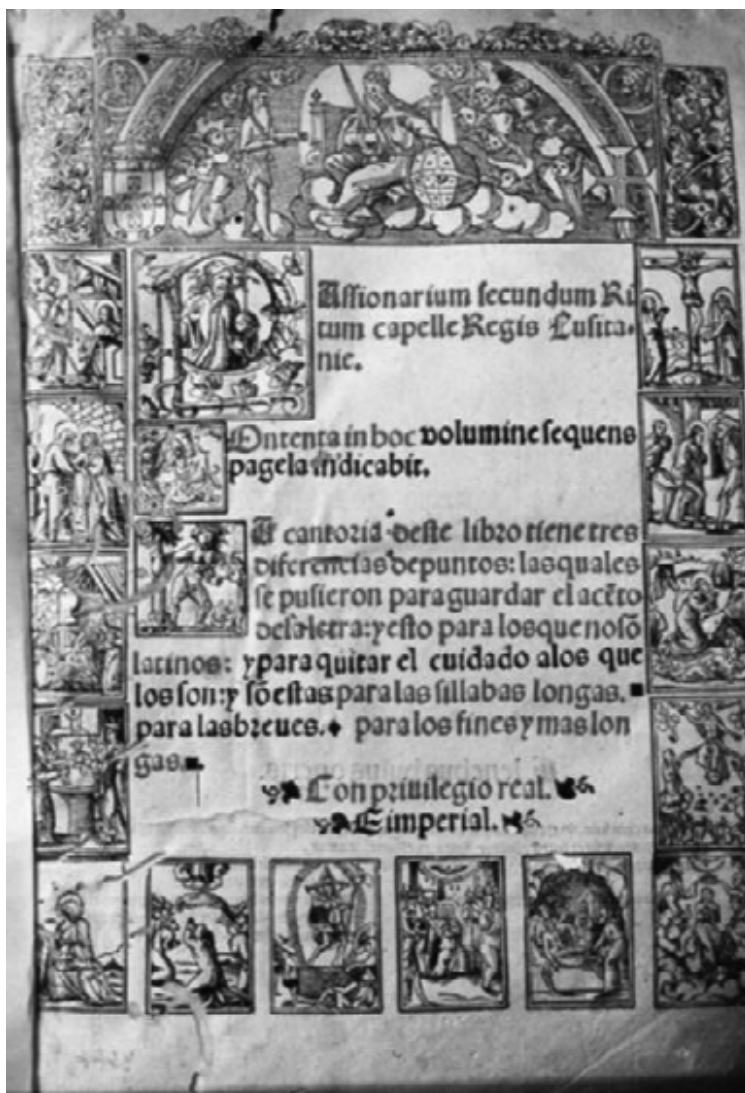
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1. Fernandes Formoso — *Passionarium*, 1543 (rosto).

Dominica in palmarum

In illo domini nostri iesu christi secun-
du mattheu in illo tempore.
Dixit iesus discipulis suis. Sciti quia postbi-
du paschasti et filius hominis tradet ut crucifigatur.
Tunc congregati sunt principes sacerdotum et seniores populi:
in atrium principis sacerdotum qui dicebatur caiphas: et con-
siliu fecerunt ut iesu dolo tenerent et occiderent. Dice-
batur autem. Non die festo. Ne forte tumultus fieret

2. Fernandes Formoso — *Passionarium*, 1543 (incipit de Mt).



3. Manuel Cardoso — *Passionarium*, 1575 (rosto).

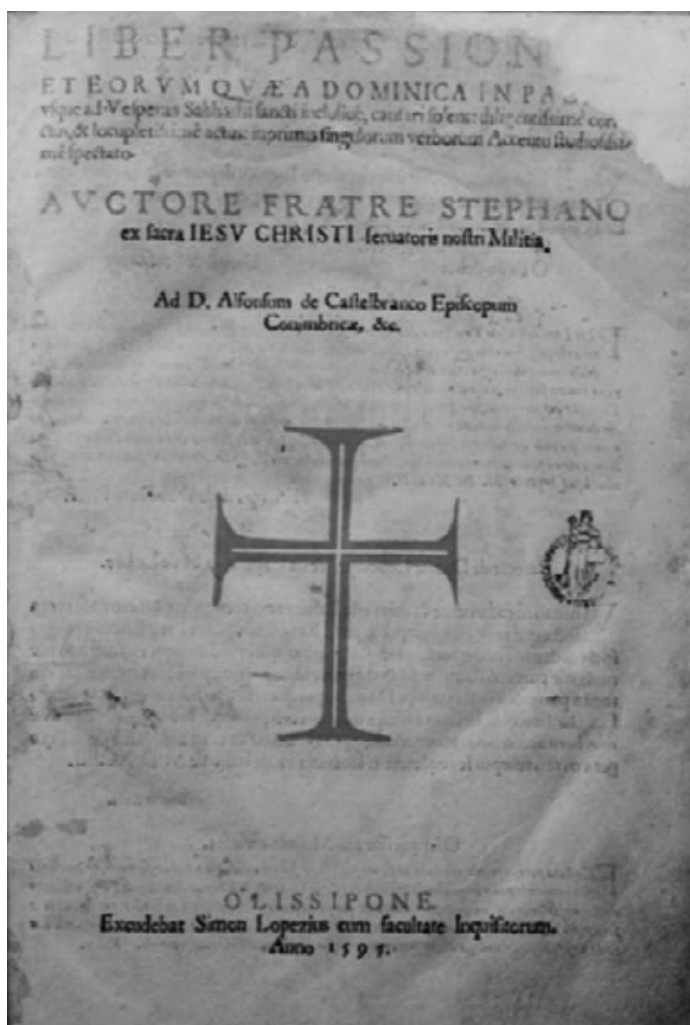
Fol. I

Domínica

In palmis.

Dilecto Domini nostri Jesu Christi se-
cundum Mattheum. In illo tempore:
Dixit Jesus discipulis suis. Scitis, quia post haec
passus fuerit, et factus hominis tradetur, ut crucifigatur. Et ne
congregati sunt principes sacerdotum, et seniores populi, in-
venit unum principis sacerdotum, qui dicebatur Caiaphas, et con-
senserunt, ut Jesum dolo tenerent, et occiderent. Dicebant

4. Manuel Cardoso — *Passionarium*, 1575 (incipit de Mt).

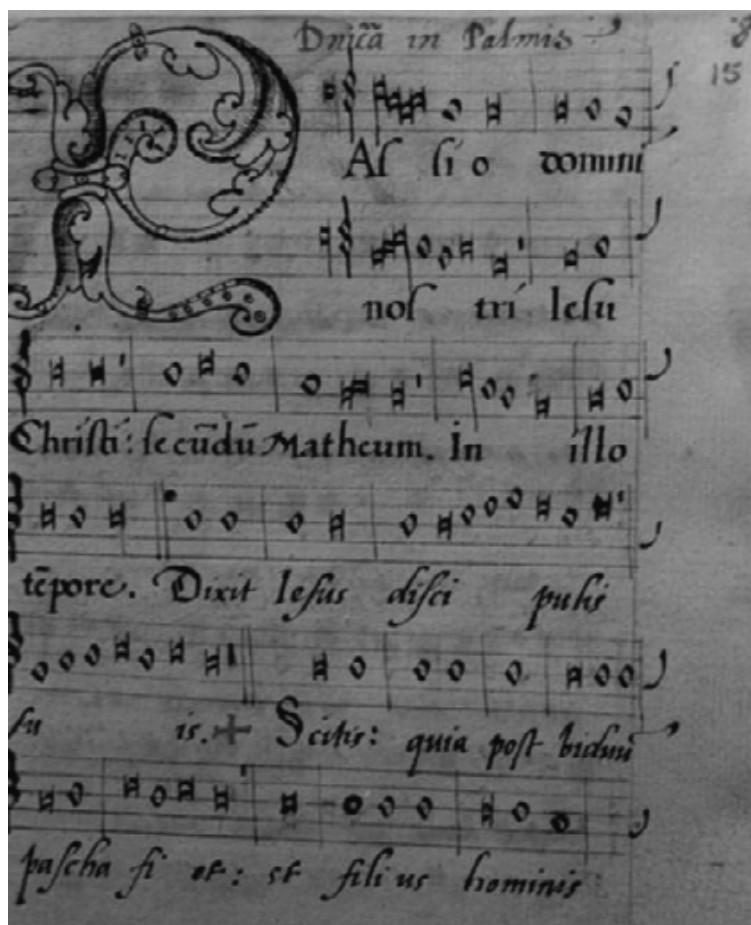


5. Estêvão de Cristo — *Liber Passionum*, 1595 (rosto).

6. Estêvão de Cristo — *Liber Passionum*, 1595 (incipit de Mt).

Domine mita mē.
 Af si o Domini no firi
 Je su Chisti, se cum dū Mathiam. In
 illo tempo re: Dixit Je sus Disci pu lis su is. Scri
 tis, qui a post bi di um Pascha fi et: & fi li us ho mi nis tra de
 tur, ut cru ci fi ga tur. Tūc congre ga ti sunt prin ci pes sa cer
 dos, & se ni o res po pi li, in a tri um prin ci pis sa cer do
 tum, qui di ce ba nt Ca iphas, & con ci li um su ce rit, ut Je
 su m do lo re nerēt, & oc ci derent. Di ce bāt au tem. SS Nō in di

6. Estêvão de Cristo — *Liber Passionum*, 1595 (incipit de Mt).



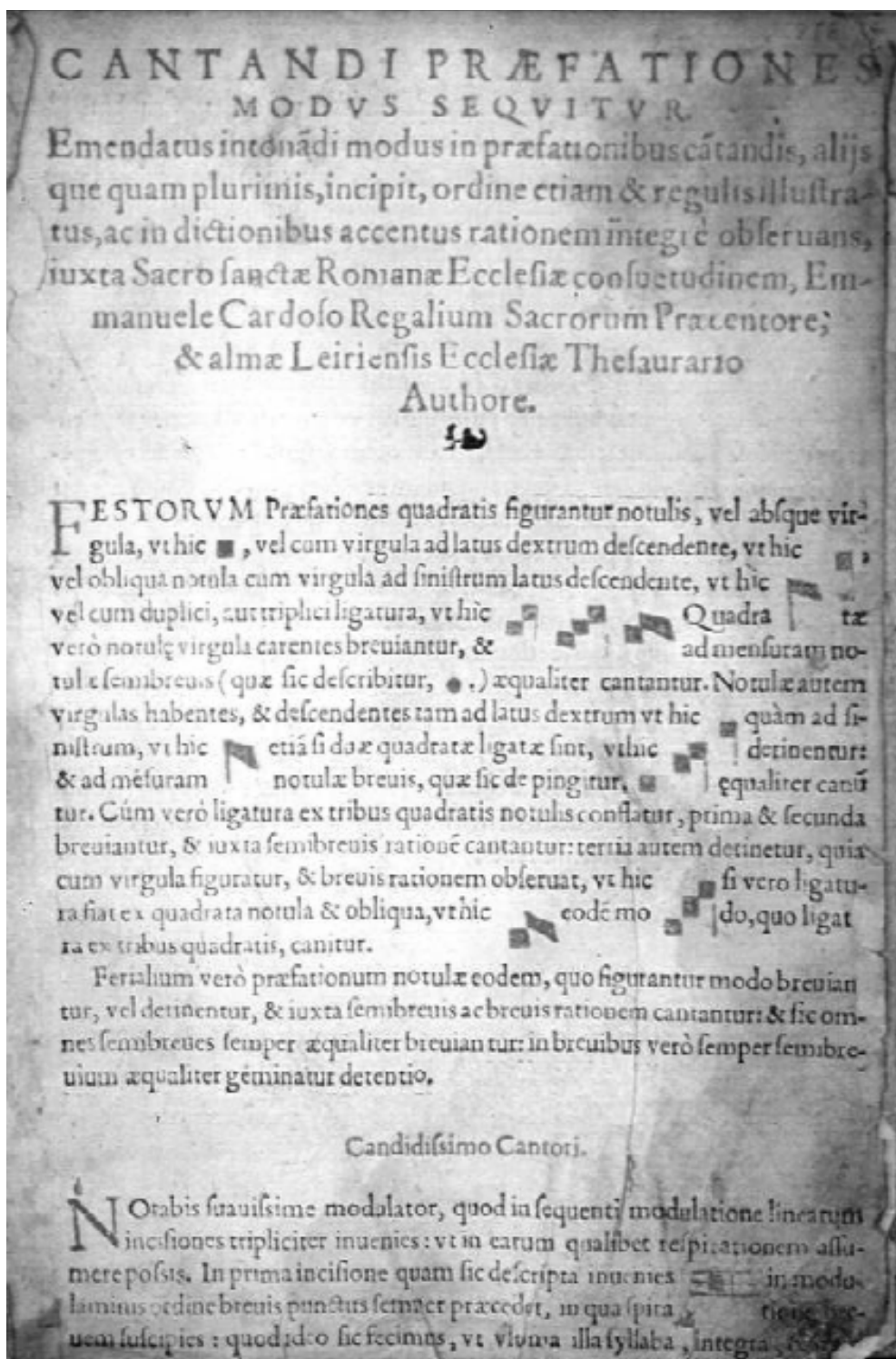
7. P-Cug MM 69 (incipit de Mt).



8. P-Cug MM 200 (incipit de Mt).



9. P-Cug MM 56 (final de Mt).





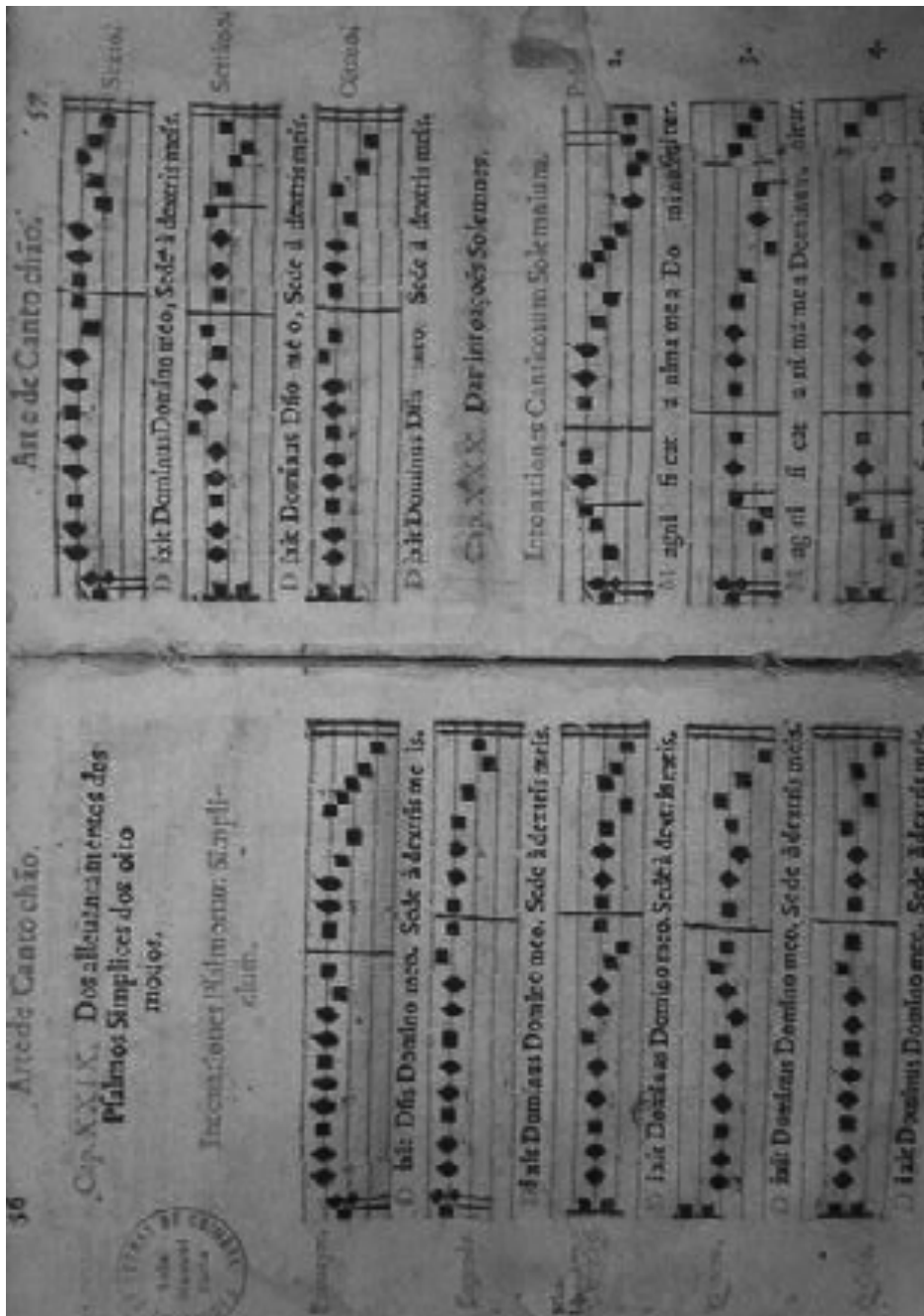
Iamus catadi modus. 1.

Iamū māda tū in lege est
ut sup oia diligam⁹ Deus.

Iamus ton⁹ sic incipit sic flectit. sic me
diatur. et sic finitur.

Eatus vir qui nō abiit i cōsilio ipiorum.
et i via pētorū nō stetit. et in cathedr. i pesti
lentia nō se dit. Seculorū. Seculorū.

11. P-Cug MM 37.



12. Pedro Thalesio, *Arte de Canto chão*, 1618.



13. P-Cug MM 18.

fo. xxix

Intronaciones hymnozū offitij diurni pariterq.
nocturni per totū ānuꝝ de seruientes.
Dominica in aduētu dñi: ad vesp̄as hymnꝝ.

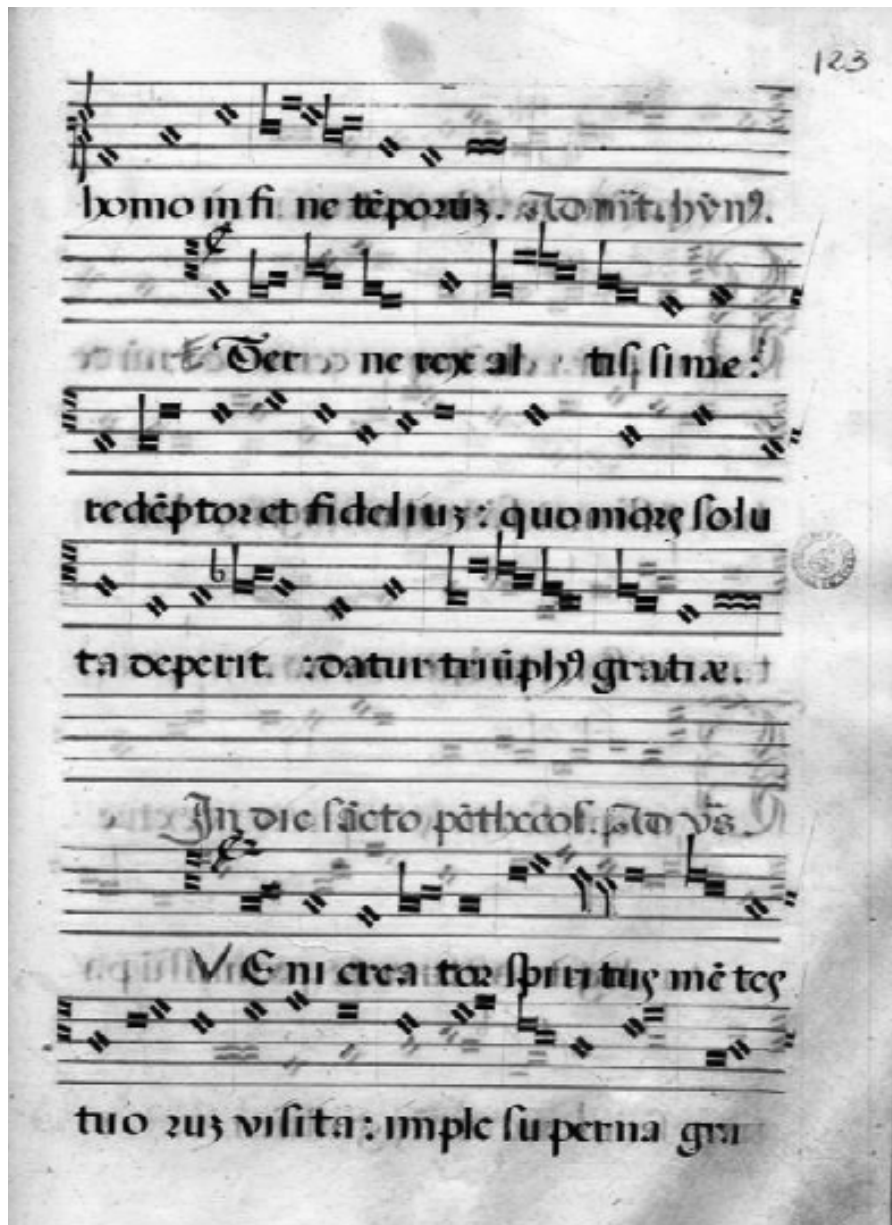
Conditor alme siderum:
eterna lux credentiū:
chr̄ste redēptor omniū: exaudi p̄ces sup
plicum.
Et dicitur per horas diei.

EE

14. Fernandes Formoso — *Passionarium*, 1543 (início do hinário).



15. P-Cug MM 1 (1640).



16. P-Cug MM 37.

Appendix

Apêndice

MONODIA SACRA MEDIEVAL / *MEDIEVAL SACRED MONODY*

Colóquio Internacional / *An International Colloquium*

Lisboa/ Évora, 2 a 5 de Junho de 2005

À memória de Solange Corbin

Cerca de meio-século após a publicação de dois livros de Solange Corbin centrados no canto litúrgico documentado em Portugal [*Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen Age (1100-1385)*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1952; *La déposition liturgique du Christ au Vendredi Saint: Sa place dans l'histoire des rites et du théâtre religieux (Analyse de documents portugais)*, Paris-Lisboa: «Les Belles Lettres»/Bertrand, 1960], reúne-se pela primeira vez no nosso país um grupo de conceituados especialistas internacionais em monodia sacra medieval, assinalando assim, e reforçando, a recente implantação desta área científica na Universidade portuguesa.

Organização:

Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical (CESEM)/Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Centro de História de Arte (CHA)/Universidade de Évora

Coordenação científica: Prof. Doutor Manuel Pedro Ferreira/ Dr. João Pedro Alvarenga

Secretariado: Joana Malta (CESEM)/ Regina Branco (CHA)

Contacto para informações e inscrições: cesem@fcsh.unl.pt

Apoios: Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa

Colaboração da Câmara Municipal de Évora

Programa / Programme

2 de Junho

Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (UNL), Auditório 2

9h45: Recepção aos participantes/ *Reception to participants*

10h30-11h: Sessão inaugural/ *Opening session*

11h15-13h:

Comunicações livres/ *Free papers*:

Màrius Bernadó [Lleida], “Pervivencia de la bendición episcopal de tradición galicana en fuentes catalanas tardías”

Juan Carlos Asensio [Salamanca], “*Echemata y neuma final*. Fórmulas de entonación añadidas a las antífonas en el ms. Londres BL mss. Add. 30850”

Arturo Tello Ruiz-Pérez [Madrid], “Transferencias del canto medieval: los tropos del *Ordinarium missae* en los manuscritos españoles”

Patricia Peláez Bilbao [Madrid]: “Bases para el estudio de la secuencia en España”

15h15-16h:

Conferência/ *Keynote address*:

Gunilla Iversen [Stockholm], “On Vocabulary and Compositional Forms in Tropes and Sequences in Iberian Liturgical Manuscripts”

16h15-18h:

“**Iberian monody I**” (1ª Sessão temática):

Michel Huglo [College Park], “Le Processionnal portugais de Chicago”

Jane Morlet Hardie [Sydney], “Sixteenth-Century Spanish Liturgical Music Manuscripts at the University of Sydney I: The Lamentations of Jeremiah”

Susana Zapke [Madrid], “Tropos y prosas de la tradicion hispana. Aproximaciones a una reconstrucción de la creación poético-musical en el siglo XII”

3 de Junho

9h45-10h45:

Comunicações livres/ *Free papers*:

James Borders [Michigan], “The Ritualization of Desire: Antiphons and Responsories for the Consecration of Virgins”

Michael Noone & Graeme Skinner [Boston-Sydney], “Cataloguing Toledo Cathedral’s Plainsong Cantorales — A Report”

11h:

East and West:

Kenneth Levy [Princeton], “On Byzantine and Old-Roman Drones”

11h30-13h:

“Eastern Christian Monody” (2ª Sessão temática):

Ivan Moody [Lisboa], “Current Areas of Research in Orthodox Chant”

Svetlana Poliakova [Lisboa], “Russian Liturgical Books of the 11th-14th Centuries and Their Function in Liturgical Practice”

Tatiana Vladyshevskaya [Moscow], “Tradition of the Early Russian Church Chant in the Contemporary Practice of the Old Believers (from the recordings of *Prichudie Community*)” (read by Svetlana Poliakova)

15h15-16h15:

Conferência/ *Keynote address*:

Ruth Steiner [Washington], “Chants for Two Heroines of the Old Testament”

16h30-18h

“Buddhist Music: From India to Japan” (3ª Sessão temática):

Bo Lawergren [New York], “The Instruments of *Raigoo* Images in Japan”

Rembrandt Wolpert [Arkansas], “Tang-Chinese ‘Exotic’ Music as a Vehicle for the Export of Religious Ideas”

Elizabeth Markham [Arkansas], “Medieval Chinese Hymns in Japanese Buddhist Liturgy”

4 de Junho

Évora: Colégio do Espírito Santo (Univ. Évora), Auditório 131

11h-Recepção aos participantes/ *Reception to participants*

11h30-13h:

“Iberian monody II” (4ª Sessão temática):

Kathleen Nelson [Sydney], “Seeking Early *Exultet* Practice in León-Castile”

José Pedrosa Cardoso [Coimbra], “A mensuralidade na monofonia litúrgica portuguesa do século XVI”

Nicolas Bell [London], “Observations on the Monophonic Conductus of the Las Huelgas Codex”

15h30-18h:

“Manuscript Studies” (5ª Sessão temática):

Marie-Noël Colette [Paris], “Un prosaire de l’ordre de Grandmont”

Lila Collamore [Los Angeles], “Some Things About Iberian Manuscripts”

João Pedro Alvarenga [Évora], “The Representation of the Semitone in Portuguese Medieval Liturgical Manuscripts, or the Myth of a «Portuguese Notation»”

Olivier Cullin [Poitiers], “The Electronic Edition of the Premonstratensian Gradual of Bellelay (12th century): Editing Principles and New Musicological Results”

James Grier [London, Ontario], “The Musical Autographs of Ademar de Chabannes”

5 de Junho

10h-11h15:

Comunicações livres/ *Free papers*:

Jocelyn Chalicarne [Poitiers], “Oralité - écriture: un rapport reconsidéré dans le Graduel de Bellelay”

Zsuzsa Czagány [Budapest], “Unity and Dissimilarity in the Offices for *St. Adalbertus* in Central Europe”

Estelle Joubert [Oxford], “Aspects of Mode in the Office of Thomas Becket: New Tunes from the Diocese of Trier”

11h30-12h30:

“Exploring the Divine Office” (6ª Sessão temática):

Barbara Haggh [College Park], “Late Medieval Offices: Analytical Considerations”

Manuel Pedro Ferreira [Lisboa], “The Responsory *Conclusit vias meas*”

12h30-13h:

Sessão de encerramento / *Closing session*

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colibri@edi-colibri.pt



Manuel Pedro Ferreira, Professor Associado na Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, licenciou-se em Filosofia na Universidade de Lisboa, fez o curso de flauta transversal no Conservatório Nacional e veio a doutorar-se em Musicologia na Universidade de Princeton (E. U. A.) com uma tese sobre o canto na abadia borgonhesa de Cluny. A música

da Idade Média e do Renascimento tem estado no centro da sua actividade lectiva e da sua investigação. Tem-se dedicado também à crítica musical (no *Expresso*, *Jornal de Letras* e *Público*, entre outros periódicos) e à interpretação de música antiga (fundou e dirige desde 1995 o grupo Vozes Alfonsinas, com o qual se apresentou em todo o país e no estrangeiro, gravando vários discos compactos). Tem estado activo como compositor desde 1988 de forma intermitente, privilegiando a voz e a música de câmara. Como musicólogo, publicou mais de setenta artigos de fundo, sobretudo sobre música medieval, mas também sobre música barroca ou contemporânea; colaborou em vários dicionários especializados nacionais e internacionais. Foi responsável pela publicação fac-similada do Cancioneiro de Elvas (1989) e do manuscrito 714 da Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto (2001); recebeu o Prémio de Ensaísmo Musical do Conselho Português da Música pelo seu livro *O Som de Martin Codax* (Lisboa, 1986). Publicou entretanto *Cantus coronatus — Sete cantigas d'amor d'El-Rei Dom Dinis* (Kassel, 2005), *Dez compositores portugueses* (Lisboa, 2007) e *Antologia de Música em Portugal na Idade Média e no Renascimento* (Lisboa, 2008). Tem no prelo, na Imprensa Nacional, uma colectânea de ensaios musicológicos, em dois volumes, sob o título *Aspectos da Música Medieval no Ocidente Peninsular*.



Este livro apresenta um conjunto de ensaios inéditos sobre música religiosa, a uma voz (monodia sacra) durante a Idade Média, e sobre a notação usada para a transmitir entre os séculos XII e XVI. Escritos por diversos especialistas, referem-se ao canto budista (no Japão), ao canto cristão ortodoxo de raiz bizantina (da Grécia à Rússia) e ao canto cristão da Igreja católica do ocidente europeu (Liturgias hispânica, galicana, velho-romana e romano-franca). Estes conteúdos derivam de algumas das comunicações apresentadas no colóquio “*Medieval Sacred Monody / Monodia sacra medieval*” (Lisboa/Évora, 2-5 de Junho de 2005), que procurou chamar a atenção, em Portugal, para o fascínio académico pelos mais antigos repertórios musicais.

